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THE WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

VOL. X.

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THE

WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON;

BEING HIS

CORRESPONDENCE, ADDRESSES, MESSAGES, AND OTHER PAPERS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE,

SELECTED AND PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS;

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

NOTES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

By JARED SPARKS.

VOLUME X.

BOSTON:
FERDINAND ANDREWS, PUBLISHER.

1839.

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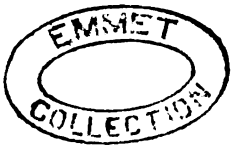

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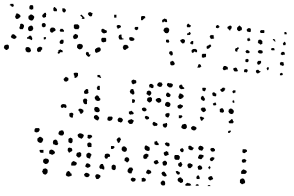

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PART FOURTH;

CONTAINING

CORRESPONDENCE

OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE,

FROM

THE BEGINNING OF HIS PRESIDENCY

TO

THE END OF HIS LIFE.

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CORRESPONDENCE

OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE,

WHILE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND AFTERWARDS.

TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

New York, 5 May, 1789.*

My dear Sir,

I cannot fail of being much pleased with the friendly part you take in every thing which concerns me, and particularly with the just scale on which you estimate this last great sacrifice, that I consider myself as having made for the good of my country. When I had judged, upon the best appreciation I was able to form of the circumstances, which related to myself, that it was my duty to embark again on the tempestuous ocean of public life, I gave up all expectations of private happiness in this world. You know, my dear Sir, I had concentred all my schemes, all my views, all my wishes, within the narrow circle of domestic enjoyment.

Though I flatter myself the world will do me the justice to believe, that, at my time of life and in my

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* Having been officially notified by a special messenger from Congress, that he was unanimously elected President of the United States, General Washington left Mount Vernon on the 16th of April, and proceeded to New York where Congress was then sitting. He arrived in that city on the 23d of April, and took the oath of office on the 30th. See Appendix, No. I.

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circumstances, nothing but a conviction of duty could have induced me to depart from my resolution of remaining in retirement, yet I greatly apprehend, that my countrymen will expect too much from me. I fear, if the issue of public measures should not correspond with their sanguine expectations, they will turn the extravagant, and I might almost say undue praises, which they are heaping upon me at this moment, into equally extravagant, though I will fondly hope unmerited censures.*

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* Similar sentiments were expressed in a letter to General Wayne. "My greatest apprehension at present is, that more will be expected from me, than I shall be able to perform. All that an honest zeal can dictate for the advancement of the interests of our country will, however, be cheerfully and perseveringly attempted." — *May 4th.* And to General Schuyler; "It is only from the assurances of support, which I have received from the respectable and worthy characters in every part of the Union, that I am enabled to overcome the diffidence, which I have in my own abilities to execute my great and important trust to the best interest of our country. An honest zeal, and an unremitting attention to the interests of the United States, are all that I dare promise." — *May 9th.* And again to Mr. Jones; "The numerous and friendly congratulations, which I have received from respectable characters in every part of the Union, are truly pleasing to me; not only on account of their discovering a warm attachment to my person, but because they convey the most flattering idea of the good dispositions of the people in the several States, and the strongest assurances of support to the government. It affords me likewise no small satisfaction to find, that my friends have done justice to the motives, which again brought me into public life. Under all these circumstances I shall feel a degree of confidence in discharging the duties of my administration, with which a consciousness alone of the purity of my intentions could not have inspired me." — *May 14th.* To Robert R. Livingston, after stating the principles which he had adopted for regulating his conduct in regard to appointments, he wrote; "The delicacy with which your letter was written, and your wishes insinuated, did not require me to be thus explicit on this head with you; but the desire which I have, that those persons whose good opinion I value, should know the principles on which I mean to act in this business, has led me to this full declaration; and I trust, that the truly worthy and respectable characters in this country will do justice to the motives by which I am actuated in all my public transactions." — *May 31st.*

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So much is expected, so many untoward circumstances may intervene, in such a new and critical situation, that I feel an insuperable diffidence in my own abilities. I feel in the execution of the duties of my arduous office how much I shall stand in need of the countenance and aid of every friend to myself, of every friend to the revolution, and of every lover of good government. I thank you, my dear Sir, for your affectionate expressions on this point.

I anticipate, that one of the most difficult and delicate parts of the duty of my office will be that, which relates to nominations for appointments. I receive with the more satisfaction the strong testimonials in behalf of Mr. Hall, because I hope they will tend to supersede the difficulty in this instance. Though, from a system, which I have prescribed to myself, I can say nothing decisive on particular appointments, yet I may be allowed to observe in general, that nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to have one candidate brought forward for every office with such clear pretensions, as to secure him against competition.

Mrs. Washington is not here, but is shortly expected. On her arrival I will offer the compliments of Mrs. Rutledge and yourself to her. In the mean time I pray you to believe, that I am, with sentiments of the highest regard and esteem, &c.

TO JOHN JAY.

New York, 11 May, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

A few days ago I was conversing with you on the points contained in the enclosed queries, when a gen-

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tleman coming in put an end to the conversation. As it is my earnest wish to adopt such a line of conduct, as shall be judged most likely to secure essentials, without being exposed more than is unavoidable to the charge of too much reserve on the one hand, or too much familiarity on the other, I would be much obliged to you for considering and returning the enclosed with your sentiments thereon, as soon as you can make it convenient for yourself. With great and sincere regard, I am, &c.*

TO JAMES MADISON.

New York, 11 May, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

The enclosed were communicated to me, as you will perceive, to be used confidentially. Upon receipt of the first letter, I expressed a desire to be informed, if there was nothing improper in it, through what channel the report came, and what reliance could be placed in the authenticity of it. This gave rise to the second letter. As you are upon business, which requires every information of the state of the Union, and knowledge of our relative situation with Great Britain, I give you the perusal of them. This you can do at your leisure, as I am in no immediate want of them. I am always your affectionate, &c.

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* See APPENDIX, No. II.

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TO JAMES MADISON.

New York, 12 May, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

To draw such a line for the conduct of the President as will please everybody, I know is impossible, but to mark out and follow one, which, by being consonant with reason, will meet general approbation, may be as practicable as it is desirable. The true medium I conceive must lie in pursuing such a course, as will allow him time for all the official duties of his station. This should be the primary object. The next, to avoid as much as may be the charge of superciliousness, and seclusion from information, by too much reserve and too great a withdrawal of himself from company on the one hand, and the inconveniences, as well as a diminution of respectability, from too free an intercourse and too much familiarity on the other.

Under these impressions I have submitted the enclosed queries* to your consideration, and would thank you for your sentiments thereon, with the return of the paper. For the remarks which it contains, it is necessary that some plan should be adopted by the President for his mode of living, that the pecuniary estimates for the department may have an eye thereto; and, though secondary, it is a motive for my bringing the matter before you at this time. I am your affectionate friend, &c.

* The same as those, that were sent to Mr. Jay. See APPENDIX, No. II.

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TO MARY WOOSTER.*

New York, 21 May, 1789.

MADAM,

I have duly received your affecting letter, dated the 8th day of this month. Sympathizing with you as I do in the great misfortunes, which have befallen your family in consequence of the war, my feelings as an individual would forcibly prompt me to do every thing in my power to repair those misfortunes. But as a public man, acting only with reference to the public good, I must be allowed to decide upon all points of my duty, without consulting my private inclinations and wishes. I must be permitted, with the best lights I can obtain, and upon a general view of characters and circumstances, to nominate such persons alone to offices, as in my judgment shall be the best qualified to discharge the functions of the departments to which they shall be appointed.

Hitherto I have given no decisive answers to the applications of any candidates whatsoever. Nor would it be proper for me, before offices shall be created, and before I can have a general knowledge of the competitors for them, to say any thing that might be construed as intended to encourage or discourage the hopes, which individuals may have formed of success. I only wish, so far as my agency in this business is concerned, that candidates for offices would save themselves the trouble and consequent expense of personal attendance. All that I require is the name and such testimonials with respect to abilities, integrity, and fitness, as it may be in the power of the several ap-

* The widow of General Wooster, who died of the wounds he received in an action with the enemy when the British made an incursion to Danbury in April, 1777. See Vol. IV. p. 405.

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plicants to produce. Beyond this, nothing with me is necessary, or will be of any avail to them in my decisions. In the mean time I beg you will be persuaded, Madam, that, let the result be whatsoever it may, I can have no interest to promote but that of the public; and that I remain in all personal considerations, with the highest respect, your most obedient servant.

TO JAMES WARREN.

New York, 23 May, 1789.

SIR,

I have duly received your very friendly letter of the 2d instant, and beg you to accept of my sincere acknowledgment and best thanks for the kind congratulations and good wishes, which were contained in it. It affords me peculiar satisfaction to see the union of sentiment, which seems to prevail in favor of our new system of government. I find that the good and respectable characters from every quarter are determined to give it their countenance and support, notwithstanding some of them apprehended, that evils might arise from particular parts of it.

Those, who opposed the constitution before its adoption from principle, were pretty generally convinced of the necessity of a change in our former confederation; but its being accepted by so large a part of the community, the harmony which prevails in the legislature, and the prospect of having those apprehensions done away by some alteration, have induced them to say with you, that "it is the duty of every good citizen to rejoice in every measure calculated to carry it into operation, agreeably to the principles on which it was adopted."

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It gives me no small pleasure to find, that former friendships have not been destroyed by a difference of opinion on this great political point. It is a proof of the good dispositions, which govern the people of this country, and which, if properly improved, will make us a happy people. With great regard and esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

TO COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

Confidential.

New York, 25 May, 1789.

SIR,

What circumstances there may be existing between our two nations, to which you allude, on account of their peculiarity, I know not. But, as those nations are happily connected in the strictest ties of amity, not less by inclination and interest, than by the solemnity of a treaty, and as the United States are too remote from Europe to take any share in the local politics of that continent, I had concluded, that commerce was the only subject of negotiations, which could at present be very interesting to the inhabitants of the two countries.

In two letters, which I had the pleasure of writing to you before I returned into public life, I stated (if I remember rightly, for I have not the copies of the letters with me), that I was so little acquainted with commercial affairs, that I should very much distrust my own judgment, even in the opinions which I might be obliged to hazard in treating casually of them. This fact, if there had been no other circumstance that merited a consideration, would be a conclusive reason for preventing me individually from entering

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upon any kind of negotiations upon that subject. For while I find myself incompetent to it, I really believe, that much reciprocal advantage might be acquired, if that subject could be candidly and intelligently managed. This I should hope, too, might be the case; and so far shall I be from throwing any obstacles in the way, that I shall certainly take a great pleasure in removing, as far as lies in my power, such as may occur.

Every one, who has any knowledge of my manner of acting in public life, will be persuaded that I am not accustomed to impede the despatch or frustrate the success of business by a ceremonious attention to idle forms. Any person of that description will also be satisfied, that I should not readily consent to lose one of the most important functions of my office, for the sake of preserving an imaginary dignity. But perhaps, if there are rules of proceeding, which have originated from the wisdom of statesmen, and are sanctioned by the common consent of nations, it would not be prudent for a young state to dispense with them altogether, at least, without some substantial cause for so doing. I have myself been induced to think, possibly from the habits of experience, that in general the best mode of conducting negotiations, the detail and progress of which might be liable to accidental mistakes, or unintentional misrepresentations, is by writing. This mode, if I was obliged myself to negotiate with any one, I should still pursue. I have, however, been taught to believe, that there is in most polished nations a system established, with regard to the foreign as well as the other great departments, which, from the utility, the necessity, and the reason of the thing, provides, that business should be digested and prepared by the heads of those departments.

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The impossibility that one man should be able to perform all the great business of the state, I take to have been the reason for instituting the great departments, and appointing officers therein, to assist the supreme magistrate in discharging the duties of his trust. And perhaps I may be allowed to say of myself, that the supreme magistrate of no state can have a greater variety of important business to perform in person, than I have at this moment. Very many things will doubtless occur to you, Sir, as being incident to the office of President in the commencement of the government, which cannot be done by the intervention of a third person. You will give me leave to say, likewise, that no third person (were there a disposition for it) shall ever have it in his power to erect a wall between me and the diplomatic corps, that is to say, to prevent necessary communications. Nor has anybody insinuated, that it would be beneath the dignity of a President of the United States occasionally to transact business with a foreign minister. But in what light the public might view the establishment of a precedent for negotiating the business of a department, without any agency of the head of the department, who was appointed for that very purpose, I do not at present pretend to determine; nor whether a similar practice in that case must not of right be extended hereafter to all diplomatic characters of the same rank.

Here you will be pleased to observe, Sir, that I am writing as General Washington to the Count de Moustier. Happy am I, that my regard for yourself and your nation is so far from being equivocal, that I have had several occasions of making it known to you, both in conversation and writing. And I hope you will consider this confidential letter as an evidence of the extreme regret, which I should feel, in being obliged

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to decline any propositions, as to the mode of doing business, from a person who has so many titles to my esteem as the Count de Moustier.

I will only add, that, under my present impressions, I cannot persuade myself, that I should be justifiable in deviating essentially from established forms. With the highest sentiments of esteem and regard,

I am, Sir, &c.*

TO THE SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.†

New York, 8 June, 1789.

SIR,

Although in the present unsettled state of the executive departments, under the government of the Union, I do not conceive it expedient to call upon you for information officially, yet I have supposed, that some informal communications from the office of foreign affairs might neither be improper nor unprofitable. Finding myself at this moment less occupied with the

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* See letters from Count de Moustier, relating to the same subject, in the APPENDIX, No. III.

† The secretaries of the several executive departments under the new government were not appointed till September. In the mean time the usual business of the departments was transacted by the officers, who had charge of them when the old government expired. Mr. Jay continued to fill the office of secretary of foreign affairs, till Mr. Jefferson entered upon its duties in March, 1790. The name of the department was changed by law to that of the *Department of State*, and its head was thenceforward called Secretary of State. General Knox acted as secretary of war, till his new appointment to the same post, on the 12th of September, 1789. The affairs of the treasury were administered by a Board, consisting of Samuel Osgood, Walter Livingston, and Arthur Lee. These gentlemen retained their places till September 11th, when Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. The reason why the appointments were so long delayed was, that the laws instituting the departments, and fixing the salaries of the officers, were not sooner passed by Congress.

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duties of my office, than I shall probably be at almost any time hereafter, I am desirous of employing myself in obtaining an acquaintance with the real situation of the several great departments, at the period of my acceding to the administration of the general government. For this purpose I wish to receive in writing such a clear account of the department, at the head of which you have been for some years past, as may be sufficient (without overburthening or confusing the mind, which has very many objects to claim its attention at the same instant,) to impress me with a full, precise, and distinct general idea of the affairs of the United States, so far as they are comprehended in, or connected with, that department.

As I am now at leisure to inspect such papers and documents, as may be necessary to be acted upon hereafter, or as may be calculated to give me an insight into the business and duties of that department, I have thought fit to address this notification to you accordingly. I am, &c.*

TO JAMES M'HENRY.

New York, 3 July, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your very friendly letter of the 28th of June, and feel a grateful sense of the interest you take in my welfare and happiness, and the kind solicitude, which you express for the recovery of my health. I have now the pleasure to inform you, that my health is restored, but a feebleness still hangs upon me, and

* A copy of the same letter was sent to the Secretary of War and to the Board of the Treasury; and a similar one to Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster-General. See APPENDIX, No. IV.

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I am much incommoded by the incision, which was made in a very large and painful tumor on the protuberance of my thigh. This prevents me from walking or sitting. However, the physicians assure me it has had a happy effect in removing my fever, and will tend very much to the establishment of my general health; it is in a fair way of healing, and time and patience only are wanting to remove this evil. I am able to take exercise in my coach, by having it so contrived as to extend myself the full length of it.

I thank you, my dear Sir, for the anxiety which you express, that I should have some person about me, who is well acquainted with my constitution, and who has been accustomed to my confidence. The habits of intimacy and friendship, in which I have long lived with Dr. Craik, and the opinion I have of his professional knowledge, would most certainly point him out as the man of my choice in all cases of sickness. I am convinced of his sincere attachment to me, and I should with cheerfulness trust my life in his hands, but, how far circumstances at present would justify his quitting his practice in Alexandria and its vicinity to gratify his inclinations and my wishes, I am not able to say; but, could it be made consistent with his advantage to be near me, I am sure it would be highly pleasing to me. I must, however, in justice to Dr. Bard, who has attended me during my late indisposition, declare, that neither skill nor attention has been wanting on his part, and, as I could not have the assistance of my good friend Dr. Craik, I think myself fortunate in having fallen into such good hands.*

* An anecdote characteristic of Washington is related by Professor McVickar, in his interesting and truly excellent narrative of Dr. Bard's life, respecting an incident that happened in the course of his illness. "It was a case of anthrax, so malignant as for several days to threaten

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You have my sincere wishes, that your intended journey to the Sweet Springs may be the means of restoring the health of your brother, and that it may be pleasant and healthful to yourself. I am, dear Sir, with very great esteem, your affectionate, &c.

TO JOHN JAY.

Private.

New York, 14 July, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I find myself incompetent to form any decided opinion upon the paper I received from you the other day, without having a view of the transactions, which have been had with the Spanish minister. I wish also to know whether, if the negotiations are renewed, it can be made to appear from any thing, which that gentleman has said, as the result of an advance towards it from him in his official character. Unless this is the case, and *primâ facie* the reverse, will it not convey to him and his court an idea, that a change of sentiment has taken place in the governing powers of this country? Will it be expedient and proper at this moment for the President to encourage such an idea; at any rate, without previously advising with the Senate? With very sincere esteem and regard,

I am, &c.

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mortification. During this period Dr. Bard never quitted him. On one occasion, being left alone with him, General Washington, looking steadfastly in his face, desired his candid opinion as to the probable termination of his disease, adding, with that placid firmness which marked his address, 'Do not flatter me with vain hopes; I am not afraid to die, and therefore can bear the worst.' Dr. Bard's answer, though it expressed hope, acknowledged his apprehensions. The President replied, 'Whether to night, or twenty years hence, makes no difference; I know that I am in the hands of a good Providence.'" — *Life of Dr. Samuel Bard*, p. 136.

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TO MATTHEW IRWIN.

New York, 20 July, 1789.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 9th instant enclosing a letter from Captain O'Bryen, giving a detail of the sufferings of himself and several other unfortunate Americans, who are slaves in Algiers, and requesting that some measures may be taken by the government for their redemption.

Mr. Jefferson, our minister at the court of France, has in view, among other objects, the redemption of these unfortunate men; but what advances he has made in it, or whether he will be able to accomplish it or not, for want of the means, I am unable at present to say.

I am not satisfied that it would be proper, as you suggest, for me to begin or bring forward a subscription among the merchants and others in the maritime towns of this country, to raise a fund for delivering these unhappy men from their state of bondage; but I would cheerfully give every aid in my power to accomplish this humane and benevolent purpose.

I am, Sir, &c.*

* The ship Dauphin, belonging to Matthew and Thomas Irwin of Philadelphia, and commanded by Captain Richard O'Bryen, was captured by an Algerine cruiser on the 30th of July, 1785, about fifty leagues to the westward of Lisbon, and was taken to Algiers, where it arrived on the 16th of August, and the captain and seamen were enslaved, according to the barbarous usage of the Algerine government at that time. Five days before the capture of the Dauphin, a schooner called the Maria, Captain Isaac Stephens, belonging to William Foster of Boston, was captured near Cape St. Vincent's, and the officers and crew were likewise condemned to slavery. On the 22d of September, 1788, Captain O'Bryen wrote a letter to General Washington, describing the condition of himself and his fellow sufferers, and soliciting his aid in procuring their release. The whole number of persons carried into slavery

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TO CHARLES THOMSON.

New York, 24 July, 1789.

SIR,

I have received your note, wherein, after mentioning your having served in quality of secretary of Congress from the first meeting of that body, in 1774, to the present time, through an eventful period of almost fifteen years, you announce your wish to retire to private life; and I have to regret, that the period of my coming again into public life should be exactly that, in which you are about to retire from it.

The present age does so much justice to the unsullied reputation, with which you have always conducted yourself in the execution of the duties of your office, and posterity will find your name so honorably connected with the verification of such a multitude of astonishing facts, that my single suffrage would add little to the illustration of your merits. Yet I cannot withhold any just testimonial in favor of so old, so faithful, and so able a public officer, which might tend to soothe his mind in the shade of retirement. Accept, then, this serious declaration, that your services have been important, as your patriotism was distinguished; and enjoy that best of all rewards, the consciousness of having done your duty well.

You will be pleased, Sir, to deliver the books, records, and papers of the late Congress, the great seal of the federal Union, and the seal of the admiralty, to Mr. Roger Alden, the late deputy secretary of Congress, who is requested to take charge of them until farther directions shall be given. I beg you to be

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was twenty-one. At the date of O'Bryen's letter six had died, and fifteen only remained. Others died before they were redeemed. — JEFFERSON'S *Writings*, Vol. III. p. 171.

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persuaded, that it will always afford me real pleasure to extend whatever encouragement may be consistent with my general duties, to such particular persons as have long been faithful and useful servants to the community. I finally commend you to the protection of Heaven, and sincerely wish you may enjoy every species of felicity. I am, &c.

TO DAVID STUART.

New York, 26 July, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

In the first moment of my ability to sit in an easy chair, and that not entirely without pain, I occupy myself in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and thanking you for it.

Although my time, before I was confined, had been and probably now will be much more engaged, yet your communications without any reserve will be exceedingly grateful and pleasing to me. While the eyes of America, perhaps of the world, are turned to this government, and many are watching the movements of all those, who are concerned in its administration, I should like to be informed, through so good a medium, of the public opinion of both men and measures, and of none more than myself; not so much of what may be thought commendable parts, if any, of my conduct, as of those which are conceived to be of a different complexion. The man, who means to commit no wrong, will never be guilty of enormities; consequently he can never be unwilling to learn what are ascribed to him as foibles. If they are really such, the knowledge of them in a well-disposed mind will go half way towards a reform,

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If they are not errors, he can explain and justify the motives of his actions.

At a distance from the theatre of action, truth is not always related without embellishment, and sometimes is entirely perverted, from a misconception of the causes which produce the effects that are the subjects of censure. This leads me to think, that the system, which I found it indispensably necessary to adopt on my first coming to this city, might have undergone severe strictures, and have had motives, very foreign from those that govern me, assigned as causes thereof. I mean, first, returning no visits; secondly, appointing certain days to receive them generally, not to the exclusion however of visits on any other days under particular circumstances; and, thirdly, at first entertaining no company, and afterwards (until I was unable to entertain any at all) confining it to official characters. A few days evinced the necessity of the two first in so clear a point of view, that, had I not adopted it, I should have been unable to attend to any sort of business, unless I had applied the hours allotted to rest and refreshment to this purpose; for by the time I had done breakfast, and thence till dinner, and afterwards till bed-time, I could not get relieved from the ceremony of one visit, before I had to attend to another. In a word, I had no leisure to read or to answer the despatches, that were pouring in upon me from all quarters.

With respect to the third matter, I early received information through very respectable channels, that the adoption thereof was not less essential, than that of the other two, if the President was to preserve the dignity and respect, that were due to the first magistrate. For a contrary conduct had involved the late presidents of Congress in insuperable difficulties, and the office,

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in this respect, in perfect contempt; for the table was considered as a public one, and every person, who could get introduced, conceived that he had a right to be invited to it. This, although the table was always crowded (and with mixed company, and the President considered in no better light than as a *maître d'hôtel*), was in its nature impracticable, and as many offences given as if no table had been kept.

The citizens of this place were well acquainted with this fact, and the principal members of Congress in both Houses were so well convinced of the impropriety and degrading situation of their President, that it was the general opinion, that the President of the United States should neither give nor receive invitations; some from a belief, independent of the circumstances I have mentioned, that this was fundamentally right in order to acquire respect. But to this I had two objections, both powerful in my mind; first, the novelty of it I knew would be considered as an ostentatious mimicry of sovereignty; and, secondly, that so great a seclusion would have stopped the avenues to useful information from the many, and made me more dependent on that of the few. But to hit on a discriminating medium was found more difficult, than it appeared to be at first view; for, if the citizens at large were begun with, no line could be drawn; all, of decent appearance, would expect to be invited, and I should have been plunged at once into the evil I was endeavouring to avoid. Upon the whole, it was thought best to confine my invitations to official characters and strangers of distinction. This line I have hitherto pursued. Whether it may be found best to adhere to it, or depart from it, must in some measure be the result of experience and information.

So strongly had the citizens of this place imbibed an idea of the impropriety of my accepting invitations

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to dinner, that I have not received one from any family (though they are remarkable for hospitality, and though I have received every civility and attention possible from them) since I came to the city, except to dine with the governor on the day of my arrival; so that, if this should be adduced as an article of impeachment, there can be at least one good reason adduced for my not dining out; to wit, never having been asked to do so.

One of the gentlemen, whose name is mentioned in your letter, though high-toned, has never, I believe, appeared with more than *two* horses in his carriage;* but it is to be lamented, that he and some others have stirred a question, which has given rise to so much animadversion, and which I confess has given me much uneasiness, lest it should be supposed by some, unacquainted with facts, that the object they had in view was not displeasing to me. The truth is, the question was moved before I arrived, without any privity or knowledge of it on my part, and urged, after I was apprized of it, contrary to my opinion; for I foresaw and predicted the reception it has met with, and the use that would be made of it by the adversaries of the government. Happily this matter is now done with, I hope never to be revived.†

* A report had gone abroad, that the Vice-President never appeared publicly except *with a coach and six horses*, which Dr. Stuart said was creating much excitement in Virginia, and was put forward by the opponents of the constitution as a proof of the monarchical tendency of the government.

† This paragraph relates to a scheme, which had lately been before Congress, respecting the titles by which the high officers of government should be addressed. "Nothing could equal the ferment and disquietude," said Dr. Stuart, "occasioned by the proposition respecting titles. As it is believed to have originated with Mr. Adams and Mr. Lee, they are unpopular to an extreme." The history of the proceedings on this subject is briefly as follows.

A committee was appointed by the Senate, April 23d, "to consider

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The opposition of the Senate to the discrimination in the tonnage bill was so adverse to my ideas of justice and policy, that I should have suffered it to pass silently into a law without my signature, had I not been assured by some members of the Senate, that they were preparing another bill, which would answer the purpose more effectually without being liable to the objections and to the consequences, which they feared would have attended the discrimination, which was proposed in the tonnage law. Why they keep their

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and report what style or titles it will be proper to annex to the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States." Richard Henry Lee was chairman. The next day a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives to confer with the committee of the Senate on the same subject. This joint committee reported, "That it is improper to annex any style or title to the respective styles or titles of office expressed in the constitution." The report was unanimously adopted by the House, but was not agreed to by the Senate. The question was then taken in that body, whether the President of the United States should be addressed by the title of *His Excellency*, which passed in the negative, and the subject was referred to another committee, of which Mr. Lee was again chairman.

A proposal to the House of Representatives to confer with this second committee brought on a debate, which was conducted with considerable warmth, and was stopped by the previous question, which set the subject aside, and it was never again brought forward in that House. The committee of the Senate reported, however, that it was proper to style the President, *His Highness the President of the United States of America, and Protector of their Liberties.* In the mean time the House of Representatives had addressed the President, in reply to his inaugural speech, as *President of the United States*; and the Senate, for the purpose of preserving harmony with the other House, resolved to follow its example in an address about to be made to the President, and postponed the report of their committee; agreeing at the same time in the resolve, that, "From a decent respect for the opinion and practice of civilized nations, whether under monarchical or republican forms of government, whose custom is to annex titles of respectability to the office of their chief magistrate, and that, in intercourse with foreign nations, a due respect for the majesty of the people of the United States may not be hazarded by an appearance of singularity, the Senate have been induced to be of opinion, that it would be proper to annex a respectable title to the office of the President of the United States." With this

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doors shut, when acting in a legislative capacity, I am unable to inform you, unless it is because they think there is too much speaking to the gallery in the other House, and business thereby retarded.

Nothing would give me more pleasure, than to serve any of the descendants of General Nelson, of whose merits, when living, no man could entertain a higher opinion than I did. At the same time I must confess, there are few persons of whom I have no personal knowledge, or good information, that I would take into

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declaration of their opinion the Senate allowed the matter to rest, and it was never afterwards revived.

While the subject was thus solemnly treated by Congress, it caused much excitement throughout the country. It was discussed in the gazettes, but the advocates of titles found few supporters. By these it was affirmed, however, that titles were as harmless as they were necessary, and that the President, as representing the *majesty of the people*, might even be styled *His Majesty* without reasonable offence to republican ears. Others said that *His Excellency* was not a proper title, because it was applied to officers below him, particularly in the diplomatic department. In some of the newspapers the President was called "*His Highness the President-General.*" The Senate was denominated *Most Honorable*, and the same epithet was applied to the members of that body. For instance, it was published, that the *Most Honorable* Rufus King, and the *Most Honorable* Philip Schuyler were appointed Senators. And when Mrs. Washington came to New York, she was accompanied by the "*Lady of the Most Honorable Robert Morris.*" The Representatives, and even the secretaries of the executive departments, were favored with no higher title than *Honorable*. In the debates on the subject, Mr. Clymer said, that, "as soon as a man is selected for the public service, his fellow citizens with a liberal hand showered down titles upon him, either *excellency* or *honorable*; he would venture to affirm there were more *Honorable Esquires* in the United States than in all the world besides." There appears not to have been a single member of the House of Representatives in favor of titles. The habit of bestowing them gradually subsided. It would be ludicrous at the present day to affix the superlative epithet to a senator's name, and not less so to use the anticlimax *Honorable Esquire*, which prevailed during the revolution. General Washington was scrupulous to give every man his official appellation, but was opposed to all titles as marks of rank in a republican government. A person sent to him a manuscript treatise on heraldry, the publication of which was suppressed by his advice, as he thought its tendency would be hostile to the sentiments of the people, and unfavorable to liberty.

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my family, where many qualifications are necessary to fit them for the duty of it; to wit, a good address, abilities above mediocrity, secrecy and prudence, attention and industry, good temper, and a capacity and disposition to write correctly and to do it obligingly.

Most clerkships, will, I presume, either by law or custom, be left to the appointment of their principals in office. Little expectation therefore could Mr. Nelson, or any other stranger, have from this source. This latter consideration, added to the desire I feel of serving the son of my old friend and acquaintance, has induced me at all hazards to offer Mr. Thomas Nelson, his son, a place in my family.

I shall not trouble you with legislative or any other accounts, which are detailed in the papers. I have sent you the journals of the Senate, as far as they have been published and handed to me. If the successor of Mr. Richards would get the *Federal Gazette*, published by Fenno, from this city, it would enable him to collect as much information of what is passing on the theatre of New York, as he could extract from all the other papers of the place (and they are very numerous), were he to go to the expense of them. My best wishes attend Mrs. Stuart and all the family; and I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO BUSHROD WASHINGTON.

New York, 27 July, 1789.

DEAR BUSHROD,

Among the first acts of my recommencing business, after lying six weeks on my right side, is that of writing to you this letter in acknowledgment of yours of the 1st instant. Not being fairly on my seat yet, or,

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in other words, not being able to sit up without feeling some uneasiness, it must be short.

You cannot doubt my wishes to see you appointed to any office of honor or emolument in the new government, to the duties of which you are competent; but however deserving you may be of the one you have suggested, your standing at the bar would not justify my nomination of you as attorney to the federal District Court in preference to some of the oldest and most esteemed general court lawyers in your own State, who are desirous of this appointment. My political conduct in nominations, even if I were uninfluenced by principle, must be exceedingly circumspect and proof against just criticism; for the eyes of Argus are upon me, and no slip will pass unnoticed, that can be improved into a supposed partiality for friends or relations. I am, &c.*

* *From Bushrod Washington's Letter.* — "Having lately heard, that the appointment of the officers of the federal court will be vested in the judges, I take the liberty of asking your opinion, whether it would be worth my while to solicit the office of attorney in the federal court of this State, and for your advice about the most proper mode of making application. If this office has been thought of by others, my chance may be destroyed, not only by prior candidates, but by superior merit; and in that case it would be both prudent and honest in me to decline. My life will be devoted to the law; and if application to the study of a science to which I am wedded by inclination can render me deserving of this appointment, I shall hope that time will enable me to fill it with advantage to my country. If you think my application improper, or that it will be unavailing, I rely on that friendship, which I have so often experienced, to inform me of it, and the same principle will, I hope, plead for me, for having taken some share of your attention from other more important matters. Whatever steps you may advise, I will readily pursue." — *Alexandria, July 1st.*

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TO JAMES MADISON.

New York, 9 August, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

In consequence of the enclosed resolution, I had a conference with the committee therein named yesterday, when I expressed the sentiments, which you also have enclosed.

I was assured by the committee, that the only object the senate had in view was to be informed of the mode of communication, which would be most agreeable to the President, and that a perfect acquiescence would be yielded thereto. But I could plainly perceive, notwithstanding, that oral communication was the point they aimed at. Indeed, one of the gentlemen candidly declared, that a great object with him, in wishing this, was to effect a *vivâ voce* vote in that body. He added, however, that he was not without hopes of accomplishing this without. To this I replied, finding all three were opposed to the balloting system, that nothing would sooner induce me to relinquish my mode of nomination by written messages, than to accomplish this end. Thus the matter stands for my further consideration.

What do you think I had best do? I am willing to pursue that line of conduct, which shall appear to be most conducive to the public good, without regard to the indulgence of my inclination, which, I confess, and for other reasons in addition to those which are enumerated, although they are secondary, would not be gratified by personal nominations.*

* A motion had been made in the senate on the 5th of August, "That it is the opinion of the Senate, that their advice and consent to the appointment of officers should be given in the presence of the President." This motion was postponed till the next day, when it was ordered,

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The period is now arrived, when the seat of the vacant judge in the western district is to be filled. Would Colonel Carrington, do you think, be pleased with this appointment? Or are you acquainted with any professional character of fitness for the office, south of New Jersey, that would accept it?

I have had some conversation with Mr. Jay respecting his views to office, which I will communicate to you at our first interview; and this, if perfectly convenient and agreeable to you, may be this afternoon, as I shall be at home, and expect no company.

I am yours affectionately.

TO JAMES MADISON.

Date uncertain (10 August?), 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

My solicitude for drawing the first characters of the Union into the judiciary is such, that my cogitations

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"That Mr. Izard, Mr. King, and Mr. Carroll be a committee to wait on the President of the United States, and confer with him on the mode of communication proper to be pursued between him and the Senate in the formation of treaties, and making appointments to offices." The committee accordingly waited on the President, and had the conference mentioned in the above letter. It does not appear, however, that the plan of communicating nominations orally was adopted in any instance, or that the President was ever present when they were considered by the Senate. — See APPENDIX, No. V.

In regard to treaties, a practice was at first begun, which was not pursued. On the 21st of August, the following message was sent to the Senate. "The President of the United States will meet the Senate in the Senate chamber, at half past eleven o'clock to-morrow, to advise with them on the terms of the treaty to be negotiated with the southern Indians." He accordingly took his seat in the Senate, attended by General Knox, the secretary of war, for two days in succession, when the outlines of a treaty proposed by the secretary were discussed. But this practice, being found inconvenient, and subject to various objections, particularly in regard to treaties with foreign powers, was soon discontinued. — STORY'S *Commentaries*, Vol. III. p. 371.

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on this subject last night, after I parted with you, have almost determined me, as well for the reason just mentioned, as to silence the clamors, or more properly, soften the disappointment of smaller characters, to nominate Mr. Blair and Colonel Pendleton as associate and district judges, and Mr. Edmund Randolph for the attorney-general, trusting to their acceptance. Mr. Randolph in this character I would prefer to any person I am acquainted with of not superior abilities, from habits of intimacy with him.

Mr. Pendleton could not, I fear, discharge, and in that case I am sure would not undertake, the duties of an associate under the present form of the act. But he may be able to fulfil those of the district. The salary I believe is greater than what he now has; and he would see, or it might be explained to him, the reason of his being preferred to the District Court rather than to the Supreme Court; though I have no objection to nominating him to the latter, if it is conceived that his health is competent, and his mental faculties are unimpaired by age. His acceptance of the first would depend in a great measure I presume upon the light in which the district judges are considered, that is, whether superior in rank to any State judges.

I am very troublesome, but you must excuse me. Ascribe it to friendship and confidence, and you will do justice to my motives. Remember the attorney and marshal for Kentucky, and forget not to give their Christian names. Yours ever.

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TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

New York, 20 August, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I informed you on the 11th instant, that a bill was before the House to provide for the expenses that might attend the treaties and negotiations to be made with the Indian tribes, and for the appointment of commissioners to be employed in the same.

This bill has to-day passed into a law, and in consequence thereof I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, have appointed you one of the three commissioners to be employed in negotiating a treaty with the southern Indians. Should you accept of this appointment, it will be absolutely necessary for you to set off for this place immediately on the receipt of this letter; for, as I mentioned in my last, the treaty is to be held in Georgia at the Rock Landing on the Ogechee River, the 15th of September, and the commissioners must leave this place on or before the 1st day of September in order to be upon the spot on the day appointed. The propriety of this punctuality will be obvious upon a consideration of the great expense, which will be incurred by detaining so large a body of Indians, as will probably attend this treaty, longer than is necessary to transact the business of the treaty. A vessel will be provided here to carry the commissioners, and every thing requisite in the business, to Georgia. The other commissioners are not yet appointed; but they will undoubtedly be such characters, as will comport with the respectability and importance of the commission. If you have a suit of regimentals, it may be well to take them with you.

Eight o'clock, P. M. I have this moment received

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your letter of the 16th instant, and am happy to find, that the business of your office * is in so favorable a train as you mention, and that you can leave it for a few months without inconvenience, and come on immediately. I am, my dear Sir, yours, &c.

TO JAMES CRAIK.

New York, 8 September, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

The letter, with which you favored me on the 24th ultimo came duly to hand, and for the friendly sentiments contained in it you have my sincere and hearty thanks.

My disorder was of long and painful continuance, and, though now freed from pain, the wound given by the incision is not yet closed. Persuaded as I am, that the case has been treated with skill, and with as much tenderness as the nature of the complaint would admit, yet I confess I often wished for your inspection of it. During the paroxysm, the distance rendered this impracticable, and after the paroxysm had passed, I had no conception of being confined to a lying posture on one side six weeks, and that I should feel the remains of it more than twelve. The part affected is now reduced to the size of a barley-corn, and by Saturday next, which will complete the thirteenth week, I expect it will be skinned over. Upon the whole, I have more reason to be thankful, that it is no worse, than to repine at the confinement.

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* The collectorship of the port of Boston, to which General Lincoln had been appointed. The three commissioners appointed to make a treaty with the southern Indians were Benjamin Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin, and David Humphreys.

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The want of regular exercise, with the cares of office, will, I have no doubt, hasten my departure for that country from whence no traveller returns; but a faithful discharge of whatsoever trust I accept, as it ever has been, so it always will be, the primary consideration in every transaction of my life, be the consequences what they may. Mrs. Washington has, I think, better health than usual, and the children are well and in the way of improvement.

I always expected, that the gentleman, whose name you have mentioned, would mark his opposition to the new government with consistency. Pride on the one hand, and want of manly candor on the other, will not, I am certain, let him acknowledge an error in his opinions respecting it, though conviction should flash on his mind as strongly as a ray of light. If certain characters, whom you have also mentioned, should tread blindfold in his steps, it would be matter of no wonder to me. They are in the habit of thinking that every thing he says and does is right, and (if capable) they will not judge for themselves.

It gives me pleasure to hear, and I wish you to express it to them, that my nephews George and Lawrence Washington are attentive to their studies, and obedient to your orders and admonition. Those kinds of learning, which are to fit them for the most useful and necessary purposes of life, among which writing well, arithmetic, and the less abstruse branches of mathematics are certainly to be comprehended, ought to be particularly attended to, and it is my earnest wish that it should be so.

The gazettes are so full of the occurrences of a public, and indeed of a private nature, which happen in this place, that it is unnecessary, if I had more leisure than falls to my lot, to attempt a repetition.

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I shall therefore refer you to them, or to the Alexandria paper, through which they may, if pains are taken, be circulated. Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family join me in every good and friendly wish for Mrs. Craik, yourself, and the rest of your family; and, with sentiments of sincere regard and friendship, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO MRS. BETTY LEWIS.*

New York, 13 September, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Colonel Ball's letter gave me the first account of my mother's death.† Since that I have received Mrs. Carter's letter, written at your request, and previous to both I was prepared for the event by some advices of her illness communicated to your son Robert.

Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing, that Heaven has spared ours to an age beyond which few attain, and favored her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations, and a hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator. When I was last at Fredericksburg, I took a final leave of my mother, never expecting to see her more.

It will be impossible for me at this distance, and circumstanced as I am, to give the smallest attention

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* Only sister to General Washington, and married to Mr. Fielding Lewis of Fredericksburg in Virginia.

† Mary Washington died at Fredericksburg, August 25th, 1789, in the eighty-third year of her age. She had been a widow forty-six years. General Washington's father died on the 12th of April, 1743.

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to the execution of her will; nor indeed is much required, if, as she directs, no security should be given, or appraisement made of her estate; but that the same should be allotted to the devisees with as little trouble and delay as may be. How far this is legal, I know not. Mr. Mercer can, and I have no doubt would, readily advise you if asked, which I wish you to do. If the ceremony of inventorying, appraising, &c. can be dispensed with, all the rest, as the will declares that few or no debts are owing, can be done with very little trouble. Every person may in that case immediately receive what is specifically devised.

Were it not, that the specific legacies, which are given to me by the will, are meant and ought to be considered and received as mementos of parental affection, in the last solemn act of life, I should not be desirous of receiving or removing them; but in this point of view I set a value on them much beyond their intrinsic worth.

Give my love to Mrs. Carter, and thank her for the letter she wrote to me. I would have done this myself, had I more time for private correspondences. Mrs. Washington joins in best wishes for her, yourself, and all other friends; and I am, with the most sincere regard, your affectionate brother.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

New York, 23 September, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

The affectionate congratulations on the recovery of my health, and the warm expressions of personal friendship, which were contained in your letter of the 16th instant, claim my gratitude. And the consideration, that it was written when you were afflicted with

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a painful malady, greatly increases my obligation for it.*

Would to God, my dear Sir, that I could congratulate you upon the removal of that excruciating pain, under which you labor, and that your existence might close with as much ease to yourself, as its continuance has been beneficial to our country and useful to mankind; or, if the united wishes of a free people, joined with the earnest prayers of every friend to science and humanity, could relieve the body from pains or infirmities, that you could claim an exemption on this score. But this cannot be, and you have within yourself the only resource to which we can confidently apply for relief, a philosophic mind.

If to be venerated for benevolence, if to be admired for talents, if to be esteemed for patriotism, if to be beloved for philanthropy, can gratify the human mind, you must have the pleasing consolation to know, that you have not lived in vain. And I flatter myself that it will not be ranked among the least grateful occurrences of your life to be assured, that, so

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* DR. FRANKLIN'S LETTER.

"Philadelphia, 16 September, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,

"My malady renders my sitting up to write rather painful to me; but I cannot let my son-in-law, Mr. Bache, part for New York, without congratulating you by him on the recovery of your health, so precious to us all; and on the growing strength of our new government under your administration. For my own personal ease, I should have died two years ago; but, though those years have been spent in excruciating pain, I am pleased that I have lived them, since they have brought me to see our present situation. I am now finishing my eighty-fourth year, and probably with it my career in this life; but in whatever state of existence I am placed hereafter, if I retain any memory of what has passed here, I shall with it retain the esteem, respect, and affection, with which I have long been, my dear friend,

"Yours most sincerely,

"B. FRANKLIN."

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long as I retain my memory, you will be recollected with respect, veneration, and affection by your sincere friend.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH.

New York, 27 September, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Impressed with a conviction, that the due administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good government, I have considered the first arrangement of the judicial department as essential to the happiness of our country, and to the stability of its political system. Hence the selection of the fittest characters to expound the laws, and dispense justice, has been an invariable object of my anxious concern.

I mean not to flatter when I say, that considerations like these have ruled in the nomination of the attorney-general of the United States, and that my private wishes would be highly gratified by your acceptance of the office. I regarded the office as requiring those talents to conduct its important duties, and that disposition to make sacrifices to the public good, which I believe you to possess and entertain. In both instances I doubt not the event will justify the conclusion. The appointment I hope will be accepted, and its functions, I am assured, will be well performed.

Notwithstanding the prevailing disposition to frugality, the salary of this office appears to have been fixed at what it is, from a belief that the station would confer preëminence on its possessor, and procure for him a decided preference of professional employment. As soon as the acts, which are necessary accompani-

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ments of the appointment, can be got ready, you will receive official notice of the latter. This letter is only to be considered as an early communication of my sentiments on this occasion, and as a testimony of the sincere regard and esteem, with which I am, &c.

TO THE ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.*

New York, 30 September, 1789.

SIR,

I experience peculiar pleasure in giving you notice of your appointment to the office of an associate judge in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Considering the judicial system as the chief pillar upon which our national government must rest, I have thought it my duty to nominate for the high offices in that department, such men as I conceived would give dignity and lustre to our national character; and I flatter myself that the love, which you bear to our country, and a desire to promote the general happiness, will lead you to a ready acceptance of the enclosed commission, which is accompanied with such laws as have passed relative to your office. I have the honor to be, with high consideration, &c.

TO JOHN JAY.

New York, 5 October, 1789.

SIR,

It is with singular pleasure, that I address you as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for which office your commission is enclosed.

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* Addressed to each of the judges separately.

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In nominating you for the important station, which you now fill, I not only acted in conformity to my best judgment, but I trust I did a grateful thing to the good citizens of these United States; and I have a full confidence, that the love which you bear to our country, and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into action the talents, knowledge, and integrity, which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department, which must be considered as the key-stone of our political fabric. I have the honor to be, with high consideration and sentiments of esteem, &c.

TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

To our great and beloved Friend and Ally, his Most Christian Majesty.

By the change, which has taken place in the national government of the United States, the honor of receiving and answering your Majesty's letter, of the 7th of June, to the President and Members of Congress, has devolved upon me.

The painful event communicated in it could not fail to affect the sensibility, and excite the regret, of the people of the United States, who have so much reason to feel an interest in whatever concerns the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and nation. They very sincerely condole with you on the occasion, and are sensible how greatly this misfortune must have been enhanced by those qualities in the Dauphin, which promised to render that prince a blessing, not only to his family, but to his nation.

Permit me to assure your Majesty of the unceasing gratitude and attachment of the United States, and

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of our prayers, that the Almighty will be pleased to keep you, our great and beloved friend and ally, under his constant guidance and protection. New York, the 9th day of October, 1789.*

TO WILLIAM McWHIR.

New York, 12 October, 1789.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 18th ultimo, and am glad to learn from it, that my nephews apply with diligence to arithmetic and English composition. These are two branches in which I have always thought them deficient, and have ever been pressingly desirous, that they should be made well acquainted with them. George may be instructed in the French language, but Lawrence had better apply himself for the present to his arithmetic, writing, and composition.

As you have failed in your endeavours to obtain a mathematical instructor, it is not probable that any success would attend an advertisement in a paper here. However, I shall have one inserted. I can give no particular opinion respecting the boy, whom you represent to be an uncommon genius. But I would cheerfully give any reasonable encouragement towards the cultivation of talents, which bid fair to be useful. I am, Sir, &c.

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* The letter from the King of France, to which the above was an answer, announced the death of the Dauphin. In communicating to Congress the intelligence contained in that letter, the President said; "The generous conduct of the French monarch and nation towards this country renders every event that may affect his or their prosperity interesting to us; and I shall take care to assure him of the sensibility with which the United States participate in the affliction, which a loss so much to be regretted must have occasioned both to him and to them." — *September 29th.*

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TO COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

New York, 13 October, 1789.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have been honored with the receipt of your letters of the 31st of January and 17th of February last; and I should have had the pleasure to address you sooner, but a tedious indisposition, and very numerous avocations since my recovery, have so entirely engaged my time, as to leave me but very little or no leisure for the agreeable duties of friendship.

I embrace the obliging offer of his Excellency the Count de Moustier, who favors my letter with his care, to renew an intercourse which will ever give me pleasure, and to enhance your satisfaction by telling you, that the political affairs of the United States are in so pleasing a train, as to promise respectability to their government and happiness to our citizens. The opposition offered to the reform of our federal constitution has in a great measure subsided, and there is every reason to predict political harmony and individual happiness to the States and citizens of confederated America.

The revolution, announced by the intelligence from France, must be interesting to the nations of the world in general, and is certainly of the greatest importance to the country in which it has happened. I am persuaded I express the sentiments of my fellow-citizens, when I offer an earnest prayer, that it may terminate in the permanent honor and happiness of your government and people. With sentiments of respectful affection and esteem, I am, &c.

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TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

New York, 13 October, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

In my first moments of leisure I acknowledge the receipt of your several favors.

To thank you for the interesting communications contained in those letters, and for the pains you have taken to procure me a watch, is all, or nearly all, I shall attempt in this letter; for I could only repeat things, were I to set about it, which I have reason to believe have been regularly communicated to you in detail, at the periods which gave birth to them. It may not, however, be unpleasing to you to hear in one word, that the national government is organized, and, as far as *my* information goes, to the satisfaction of all parties; that opposition to it is either no more, or hides its head; that it is hoped and expected it will take strong root; and that the non-acceding States will very soon become members of the Union. No doubt is entertained of North Carolina; nor would there be any of Rhode Island, had not the majority of those people bid adieu, long since, to every principle of honor, common sense, and honesty. A material change however has taken place, it is said, at the late election of representatives, and confident assurances are given, from that circumstance, of better dispositions in their legislature at its next session, now about to be held.*

The revolution, which has been effected in France is of so wonderful a nature, that the mind can hardly realize the fact. If it ends as our last accounts, to

* The grounds taken by the Assembly of Rhode Island, in their opposition to the constitution, are stated in a letter from Governor Collins to President Washington and Congress. See APPENDIX, No. VI.

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the first of August, predict, that nation will be the most powerful and happy in Europe; but I fear, though it has gone triumphantly through the first paroxysm, it is not the last it has to encounter before matters are finally settled. In a word, the revolution is of too great a magnitude to be effected in so short a space, and with the loss of so little blood. The mortification of the king, the intrigues of the queen, and the discontent of the princes and noblesse, will foment divisions, if possible, in the National Assembly; and they will unquestionably avail themselves of every *faux pas* in the formation of the constitution, if they do not give a more open, active opposition. In addition to these, the licentiousness of the people on one hand, and sanguinary punishments on the other, will alarm the best disposed friends to the measure, and contribute not a little to the overthrow of their object. Great temperance, firmness, and foresight are necessary in the movements of that body. To forbear running from one extreme to another is no easy matter; and, should this be the case, rocks and shelves, not visible at present, may wreck the vessel, and give a higher toned despotism than the one which existed before. I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

New York, 13 October, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

In the selection of characters to fill the important offices of government in the United States, I was naturally led to contemplate the talents and disposition, which I knew you to possess and entertain for the service of your country; and, without being able

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to consult your inclination, or to derive any knowledge of your intentions from your letters either to myself or to any other of your friends, I was determined, as well by motives of private regard as a conviction of public propriety, to nominate you for the Department of State, which, under its present organization, involves many of the most interesting objects of the executive authority. But, grateful as your acceptance of this commission would be to me, I am at the same time desirous to accommodate your wishes, and I have therefore forborne to nominate your successor at the court of Versailles, until I should be informed of your determination.

Being on the eve of a journey through the eastern States, with a view to observe the situation of the country, and in a hope of perfectly reëstablishing my health, which a series of indispositions has much impaired, I have deemed it proper to make this communication of your appointment, in order that you might lose no time, should it be your wish to visit Virginia during the recess of Congress, which will probably be the most convenient season, both as it may respect your private concerns and the public service.

Unwilling as I am to interfere in the direction of your choice of assistants, I shall only take the liberty of observing to you, that, from warm recommendations which I have received in behalf of Mr. Roger Alden, assistant secretary to the late Congress, I have placed all the papers thereunto belonging under his care. Those papers, which more properly appertain to the office of foreign affairs, are under the superintendence of Mr. Jay, who has been so obliging as to continue his good offices, and they are in the immediate charge

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of Mr. Remsen. With sentiments of very great esteem and regard, I have the honor to be, &c.*

* Mr. Jefferson left Paris on the 26th of September, crossed from Havre over to Cowes, and embarked from that place for America. He arrived at Norfolk on the 23d of November; and at Eppington in Chesterfield county, on his way to Monticello, he received the above letter, and also another from President Washington on the same subject dated November 30th. In his reply he said, that his inclinations led him to prefer his former station in France, to which it had been his intention to return.

"But," he added, "it is not for an individual to choose his post. You are to marshal us as may be best for the public good; and it is only in case of its being indifferent to you, that I would avail myself of the option you have so kindly offered in your letter. If you think it better to transfer me to another post, my inclination must be no obstacle; nor shall it be, if there is any desire to suppress the office I now hold, or to diminish its grade. In either of these cases be so good as to signify to me by another line your ultimate wish, and I shall conform to it accordingly. If it should be to remain at New York, my chief comfort will be to work under your eye, my only shelter the authority of your name, and the wisdom of measures to be dictated by you and implicitly executed by me. Whatever you may please to decide, I do not see, that the matters, which have called me hither, will permit me to shorten the stay I originally asked; that is to say, to set out on my journey northward till the month of March. As early as possible in that month, I shall have the honor of paying my respects to you in New York."—*December 15th.*

The disinclination of Mr. Jefferson to accept the appointment of Secretary of State arose from the apprehension, that the duties of the office, comprising foreign and domestic affairs, would be oppressively burdensome, and so complicated that they could not be faithfully discharged by a single person. On this subject Mr. Madison wrote to the President as follows.

"A few days before I was allowed to set out for New York, I took a ride to Monticello. The answer of Mr. Jefferson to the notification of his appointment will no doubt have explained the state of his mind on the subject. I was sorry to find him so little biassed in favor of the domestic service allotted to him, but was glad that his difficulties seemed to result chiefly from what I take to be an erroneous view of the kind and quantity of business annexed to that, which constituted the foreign department. He apprehends that it will far exceed the latter, which has of itself no terrors to him. On the other hand, it was supposed, and I believe truly, that the domestic part will be very trifling, and for that reason improper to be made a distinct department. After all, if the whole business can be executed by any one man, Mr. Jefferson must be

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TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.*

New York, 13 October, 1789.

SIR,

It being important to both countries, that the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States should be observed and performed with perfect and mutual good faith, and that a treaty of commerce should be concluded by them, on principles of reciprocal advantage to both, I wish to be ascertained of the sentiments and intentions of the court of London on these interesting subjects.

It appears to me most expedient to have these inquiries made informally, by a private agent; and, understanding that you will soon be in London, I desire you in that capacity, and on the authority and credit of this letter, to converse with his Britannic Majesty's ministers on these points, namely, whether there be any and what objections to performing those articles in the treaty, which remain to be performed on his part; and whether they incline to a treaty of commerce with the United States on any and what terms.

This communication ought regularly to be made to you by the Secretary of State; but, that office not being at present filled, my desire of avoiding delays induces me to make it under my own hand. It is my wish to promote harmony and mutual satisfaction between the two countries; and it would give me great pleasure to find that the result of your agency, in the business now committed to you, will conduce to that end. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

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equal to it. All whom I have heard speak on the subject are remarkably solicitous for his acceptance, and I flatter myself, that they will not in the event be disappointed." — *Georgetown, January 4th*, 1790.

* Mr. Morris was at this time in France, but not in any official capacity.

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TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

New York, 13 October, 1789.

SIR,

My letter to you, herewith enclosed, will give you the credence necessary to enable you to do the business, which it commits to your management, and which I am persuaded you will readily undertake.

Your inquiries will commence by observing, that, as the present constitution of government, and of the courts established in pursuance of it, removes the objections heretofore made to putting the United States in possession of their frontier posts, it is natural to expect from the assurances of his Majesty and the national good faith, that no unnecessary delays will take place. Proceed then to press a speedy performance of the treaty respecting that object.

Remind them of the article by which it was agreed, that negroes belonging to our citizens should not be carried away, and of the reasonableness of making compensation for them. Learn with precision, if possible, what they mean to do on this head.

The commerce between the two countries you well understand. You are apprized of the sentiments and feelings of the United States on the present state of it; and you doubtless have heard, that, in the late session of Congress, a very respectable number of both houses were inclined to a discrimination of duties unfavorable to Britain, and that it would have taken place but for conciliatory considerations, and the probability that the late change in our government and circumstances would lead to more satisfactory arrangements.

Request to be informed, therefore, whether they contemplate a treaty of commerce with the United States, and on what principles or terms in general.

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In treating this subject, let it be strongly impressed on your mind, that the privilege of carrying our productions in our vessels to their Islands, and of bringing in return the productions of those Islands to our own ports and markets, is regarded here as of the highest importance; and you will be careful not to countenance any idea of our dispensing with it in a treaty. Ascertain, if possible, their views on this point; for it would not be expedient to commence negotiations without previously having good reasons to expect a satisfactory termination of them.

It may also be well for you to take a proper occasion of remarking, that their omitting to send a minister here, when the United States sent one to London, did not make an agreeable impression on this country; and request to know what would be their future conduct on similar occasions.

It is in my opinion very important, that we avoid errors in our system of policy respecting Great Britain; and this can only be done by forming a right judgment of their disposition and views. Hence you will perceive how interesting it is, that you obtain the information in question, and that the business be so managed, as that it may receive every advantage, which abilities, address, and delicacy can promise and afford. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

New York, 14 October, 1789.

MY DEAR MARQUIS,

This is the first time I have written to you since I have been in this place, and I have not received a line from you in the same space of time. This has

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been a long interval of silence between two persons, whose habits of correspondence have been so uninterruptedly kept up as ours; but the new and arduous scenes in which we have both been lately engaged will afford a mutual excuse.

I wrote to you very fully in my last letters from Mount Vernon; and since that time the gazettes, which I know you receive, have given a pretty ample detail of our public proceedings. I therefore take the advantage of the politeness of the Count de Moustier, who is about returning to France, more with a view of assuring you that you are still remembered by me with affection, than with any intent to convey political intelligence. I will only observe generally, that the prospect is favorable to the political happiness of this country.

The revolution, which has taken place with you, is of such magnitude, and of so momentous a nature, that we hardly yet dare to form a conjecture about it. We however trust and fervently pray, that its consequences may prove happy to a nation, in whose fate we have so much cause to be interested, and that its influence may be felt with pleasure by future generations. Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes to you and your amiable partner. I am, my dear Marquis, with very great affection, yours, &c.*

* As there was now a recess of Congress, which had been adjourned from the 29th of September to the 1st of January, the President resolved to embrace this opportunity to make a tour through the eastern States. He left New York, accompanied by his secretaries, Mr. Lear and Mr. Jackson, on the 15th of October. Travelling in his own carriage by the way of New Haven, Hartford, Worcester, Boston, Salem, and Newburyport, he reached Portsmouth in New Hampshire on the 31st, having been attended nearly the whole distance by military escorts, which were prepared to receive him at different points on the route. In all the principal towns, also, he was greeted with public addresses, the ringing of bells, entertainments, and every demonstration of joy from the whole

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TO JOHN HANCOCK, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Brookfield, 22 October, 1789.

SIR,

A few miles west of this village I met the express, who delivered to me your Excellency's letter of yesterday. I have been so fortunate as to proceed thus far, without any accident to delay my journey. Should nothing occur to prevent me, I shall be at Weston to-morrow night, and I purpose taking dinner so early at Watertown on Saturday, as to reach Cambridge by half past two o'clock. Thence I presume we shall arrive within an hour at Boston.

I am highly sensible of the honor intended me. But could my wish prevail, I should desire to visit your metropolis without any parade or extraordinary ceremony. From a wish to avoid giving trouble to private families, I determined, on leaving New York, to decline the honor of any invitation to quarters, which I might receive while on my journey; and, with a view to observe this rule, I had requested a gentleman to engage lodgings for me during my stay at Boston. I beg your Excellency to be persuaded of the grateful sense, which I entertain, of the honor you intended to confer on me, and I desire to assure you of the respectful regard with which I am, &c.

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body of the people. He returned through the country from Portsmouth to Hartford by a different road from the one he had before taken, and arrived in New York on the 13th of November.

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TO JOHN HANCOCK.

Weston, 23 October, 1789.

SIR,

I have this moment received your Excellency's polite letter of to-day, and have the honor to inform you, that, in consequence of suggestions made by the gentlemen from Boston, and the deputy adjutant-general, whom I met at Worcester this morning, that it would make it more convenient for the troops, many of whom lived at a distance from the place of parade, if I should pass through Cambridge at an earlier hour than I intended, I thought it best to alter the time of my arrival at that place, which I had the pleasure to mention to your Excellency in my letter of yesterday; and the alteration, which I had made, I immediately communicated to you by a letter, which the gentlemen from Boston were so kind as to take charge of. But lest any accident should prevent that letter from getting to your hands, I would here mention, that it is my determination to be at Cambridge to-morrow at ten o'clock, and from thence proceed to Boston as soon as circumstances will permit, where it is probable I may arrive by twelve o'clock; and I will do myself the honor to accept your Excellency's polite invitation to take an informal dinner with you.

I have the honor to be, &c.*

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* For further particulars respecting the President's visit to Boston, see APPENDIX, No. VII.

While President Washington was on his return, he stopped for a short time at Hartford, whence he wrote the following note.

"TO MR TAFT, NEAR UXBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

"Hartford, 8 November, 1789.

"SIR,

"Being informed that you have given my name to one of your sons, and called another after Mrs. Washington's family, and being moreover

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TO WILLIAM DRAYTON.

New York, 18 November, 1789.

SIR,

The office of judge of the District Court in and for South Carolina district having become vacant,* I have appointed you to fill the same, and your commission therefor is enclosed. You will observe that the commission, which is now transmitted to you, is limited to the end of the next session of the Senate of the United States. This is rendered necessary by the constitution of the United States, which authorizes the President to fill up such vacancies as may happen during the recess of the Senate; and appointments so made shall expire at the end of the ensuing session unless confirmed by the Senate. However, there cannot be the smallest doubt but the Senate will readily ratify and confirm this appointment, when your commission in the usual form shall be forwarded to you.

I presume, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to advance any arguments to show the high importance of the judicial system to our national government, and of course the necessity of having respectable and influ-

very much pleased with the modest and innocent looks of your two daughters, Patty and Polly, I do for these reasons send each of these girls a piece of chintz; and to Patty, who bears the name of Mrs. Washington, and who waited more upon us than Polly did, I send five guineas, with which she may buy herself any little ornaments she may want, or she may dispose of them in any other manner more agreeable to herself. As I do not give these things with a view to have it talked of, or even to its being known, the less there is said about the matter the better you will please me; but, that I may be sure the chintz and money have got safe to hand, let Patty, who I dare say is equal to it, write me a line informing me thereof, directed to 'The President of the United States at New York.' I wish you and your family well, and am your humble servant."

* Thomas Pinckney was first appointed, but declined accepting the office.

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ential characters placed in the important offices of it. The love, which you bear our country, will, I am persuaded, lead you to do every thing in your power to promote its welfare; and upon this principle I flatter myself you will accept the above appointment.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO BEVERLEY RANDOLPH, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

New York, 22 November, 1789.

Sir,

From the original letter, which I forward herewith, your Excellency will comprehend the nature of a proposal for introducing and establishing the woollen manufactory in the State of Virginia. In the present stage of population and agriculture, I do not pretend to determine how far that plan may be practicable and advisable; or, in case it should be deemed so, whether any or what public encouragement ought to be given to facilitate its execution. I have however no doubt, as to the good policy of increasing the number of sheep in every State. By a little legislative encouragement the farmers of Connecticut have, in two years past, added one hundred thousand to their former stock. In my late tour through the eastern States I found, that the manufacturers of woollens (for the manufacture of woollens is carried on there to very considerable extent and advantage) preferred the wool raised in Virginia for its fineness, to that raised in more northern parts of the continent. If a greater quantity of wool could be produced, and if the hands, which are often in a manner idle, could be employed in manufacturing it, a spirit of industry might be promoted, a great diminution might be made in the

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annual expenses of individual families, and the public would eventually be exceedingly benefited.

Under these impressions I have thought proper to transmit the proposal, and I will only add, that, if it should be judged expedient to submit the subject to the legislature, or if any private company should engage in promoting the business, the necessity of keeping the manufacturer's name concealed would undoubtedly occur; as a premature knowledge of it might not only frustrate the success of the project, but also subject the person principally concerned to the most distressing consequences. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

New York, 23 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favored with your letter of the 31st ultimo, and am very happy to learn, that the appointments under the general government have given so much satisfaction in your part of the Union. Added to the consciousness of having brought forward such characters only to fill the several offices in the United States, as from my own knowledge or the strictest inquiries I conceived would do justice to the public, and honor to themselves, I have the happiness to find, so far as my information extends, that they are highly acceptable to the good people of this country.

Your brother's acceptance of his appointment has given me much pleasure;* and I should have been glad, if Major Pinckney could have found it compatible with his interest to hold the office of District

* John Rutledge had been appointed one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

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Judge. However, I am persuaded the duties of that office will be ably and faithfully discharged by Mr. Drayton, whom I have appointed to fill it, in consequence of your warm recommendation of him, and the concurrent testimony given of his abilities and integrity by those gentlemen, who are acquainted with him, and who have spoken to me on the subject. I am, dear Sir, with sentiments of affection, &c.

TO ROBERT H. HARRISON.

New York, 25 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Since my return from my tour through the eastern States, I have received your two letters, dated the 27th of last month, together with the commission, which had been sent to you as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. I find that one of the reasons, which induced you to decline the appointment, rests on an idea that the judicial act will remain unaltered. But in respect to that circumstance I may suggest to you, that such a change in the system is contemplated, and deemed expedient by many in as well as out of Congress, as would permit you to pay as much attention to your private affairs as your present station does.

As the first court will not sit until the first Monday in February, I have thought proper to return your commission, not for the sake of urging you to accept it contrary to your interest or convenience, but with a view of giving you a farther opportunity of informing yourself of the nature and probability of the change alluded to. This you would be able to do with the less risk of mistake, if you should find it convenient

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to pass some time here, when a considerable number of members of both Houses of Congress shall have assembled; and this might be done before it would become indispensable to fill the place offered to you. If, on the other hand, your determination is absolutely fixed, you can without much trouble send back the commission under cover.

Knowing as you do the candid part, which I wish to act on all occasions, you will, I am persuaded, do me the justice to attribute my conduct in this particular instance to the proper motives, when I assure you, that I would not have written this letter, if I had imagined it would produce any new embarrassment on your part. On the contrary, you may rest assured that I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever determination may be consonant to your best judgment, and most agreeable to yourself. I am, dear Sir, with sentiments of real esteem and regard, &c.*

* There were few individuals for whom Washington had a stronger attachment than Mr. Harrison, whose character he held in high estimation, and who had rendered him most valuable services as secretary during a large part of the revolution. In nominating him as one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court, therefore, he deemed it a pleasing circumstance, that he had so good an opportunity of gratifying his personal friendship, rendering a just tribute to merit, and providing for the public an officer so eminently qualified to execute the duties of a very important trust. Mr. Harrison seemed at first to waver in his decision, and on that account returned the commission, being apparently apprehensive that some embarrassment might result to the President, should he retain it longer without a positive acceptance. In the end, however, he declined the appointment, partly for private reasons, but chiefly because he preferred the office of Chancellor of Maryland, which had recently been conferred upon him. The place was filled by James Iredell of North Carolina.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

New York, 30 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

You will perceive by the enclosed letter,* which was left for you at the office of foreign affairs, when I made a journey to the eastern States, the motives on which I acted with regard to yourself, and the occasion of explaining them at that early period. Having now reason to hope, from what Mr. Trumbull has told me, that you will be arrived at Norfolk before this time, on which event I would most cordially congratulate you, and having a safe conveyance by Mr. Griffin, I forward your commission to Virginia, with a request to be made acquainted with your sentiments as soon as you shall find it convenient to communicate them to me. I am, dear Sir, with sentiments of very great esteem and regard, &c.

TO JAMES M'HENRY.

Confidential.

New York, 30 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 14th instant, and in consequence of the suggestions contained therein, added to other considerations which occurred to me, I have thought it best to return Judge Harrison his commission, and I sincerely hope, that upon a further consideration of the subject he may be induced to revoke his former determination, and accept the appointment.

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* The letter of October 13th.

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Mr. Johnson has likewise declined his appointment of district judge, and I have no information of Mr. Potts the attorney, or Mr. Ramsay the marshal, having accepted their commissions. Thus circumstanced with respect to Maryland, I am unwilling to make a new appointment of judge for that district, until I can have an assurance, or at least a strong presumption, that the person appointed will accept; for it is to me an unpleasant thing to have commissions of so important a nature returned; and it will, in fact, have a tendency to bring the government into discredit.

Mr. Hanson is the person, whom I now have it in contemplation to bring forward as district judge of Maryland, and shall do so, provided I can obtain an assurance, that such an appointment would be acceptable to him. But as I cannot take any direct measures to draw from him a sentiment on this head, I must request, my dear Sir, that you will be so good as to get for me, if you can, such information upon the subject as will enable me to act with confidence in it, and convey the same to me as soon as possible. I shall leave to your prudence and discretion the mode of gaining this knowledge. It is a delicate matter, and will not bear any thing like a direct application, if there is the least doubt of a refusal. I have observed in the papers, that Mr. Hanson has been appointed chancellor of the State since the death of Mr. Rogers. What the emoluments of this office are, or its tenure, I know not, therefore can form no opinion how far it may operate in this matter.

Mr. Johnson's resignation came to hand too late to admit of a new appointment, and information to be given of it before the time fixed by the act for holding the first District Court in Maryland. However, if this had not been the case, I should hardly have haz-

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arded a new appointment for the reasons before mentioned, until I had good grounds to believe it would be accepted.

Should it be found, that the office of district judge would not be acceptable to Mr. Hanson, Mr. Paca has been mentioned for that appointment; and, although his sentiments have not been altogether in favor of the general government, and a little adverse on the score of paper emissions, I do not know but his appointment on some other accounts might be a proper thing. However, this will come more fully under consideration if Mr. Hanson should not wish to be brought forward; and, in that case, I will thank you to give me information relative to Mr. Paca.* Mr. Gustavus Scott and Mr. Robert Smith of Baltimore have also been mentioned for the office; but the age and inexperience of the latter is in my opinion an insuperable objection; for, however good the qualifications or promising the talents of Mr. Smith may be, it will be expected that the important offices of the general government, and more especially those of the judges, should be filled by men who have been tried and proved. I thank you, my dear Sir, for your good wishes for my health and happiness, and reciprocate them with sincerity. With great regard, I am, &c.

* On this point Mr. McHenry answered; "I have had a long conversation with Mr. Paca. I have every reason to say, that he will make every exertion in his power to execute the trust in the most unexceptionable manner. I believe, also, that the appointment will be highly gratifying to him, and I think it may have political good consequences." —*Annapolis, December 10th.* He said at the same time that Mr. Hanson would not serve. Mr. Paca was ultimately appointed.

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TO JOSEPH JONES.

New York, 30 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor without date came to my hands by the last post, but not till after I had decided in favor of Mr. Cyrus Griffin, and directed the commission to be made out.

In every nomination to office I have endeavoured, as far as my own knowledge extended, or information could be obtained, to make fitness of character my primary object. If with this the peculiar necessities of the candidate could be combined, it has been with me an additional inducement to the appointment. By these principles in a proper degree have I been influenced in the case of Mr. Griffin, who is not only out of office and in want of the emolument of one, but has been deprived of the former by my means, owing to an opinion, which prevailed here at the time among our countrymen, that his accepting the temporary appointment of commissioner to treat with the southern Indians would not bring him under the disqualifying act of Virginia, by which, however, it seems he has lost his station in the Council of that State, and is now entirely out of employment. This circumstance, added to the knowledge of his having been a regular student of law, having filled an important office in the Union in the line of it, and being besides a man of competent abilities, and of pure character, weighed with me in the choice; to which I was not a little influenced by the opportunity of deciding positively whether he would accept or not; for I confess I was not a little unwilling to hazard another choice, without some previous inquiry and consultation. And sufficient time to do this was not allowed me between

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the receipt of Colonel Pendleton's resignation, which came to this place while I was on a tour through the eastern States, and the day appointed for the session of the District Court. With very sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH.

New York, 30 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 8th of October gave me pleasure, as I not only entertain hopes, but shall fully expect from the contents of it, to see you in the office of attorney-general when the purposes mentioned by you for the delay are answered.

I shall now mention some matters to you in confidence. Mr. Pendleton's declining to accept the appointment of district judge has embarrassed me, and this embarrassment was not a little increased by the lateness of the period at which (being on a tour through the eastern States) I came to the knowledge of it. When I was about to make the nominations in the judiciary for the Union, the character and abilities of Mr. Wythe did not escape me; and I accordingly consulted such gentlemen from the State of Virginia, then in this city, as I thought most likely to have some knowledge of his inclinations. Their opinion was, that, as he had lately been appointed sole Chancellor, an office to which by inclination he was led, and engaged in other avocations, which engrossed his attention and appeared to afford him pleasure, he

* Edmund Pendleton was first appointed district judge of the United States in Virginia; but he declined, and the office was conferred on Cyrus Griffin.

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would not exchange the former for a federal appointment. However, since these appointments have been announced, I have heard that it has been the wonder of some in Virginia, that Mr. Wythe should have been overlooked. The cause (if the epithet applies) I have assigned. And if there was reason to apprehend a refusal in the first instance, the non-acceptance of Colonel Pendleton would be no inducement to him to come forward in the second. To consult him through the medium of a friend there was not time, as the third Tuesday in December is the day appointed for holding the District Court in the district of Virginia, and to hazard a second refusal I was on many accounts unwilling. Under these circumstances I have, by the powers of the constitution, appointed Mr. Cyrus Griffin during the recess of the Senate.

My reasons for this appointment in preference to any other, except Mr. Wythe, are, because he has, as I am informed, been regularly bred to the law, has been in the court of appeals, has been discontinued of the Council in Virginia, (contrary to the expectation of his friends here at the time, who thought that his temporary appointment as a negotiator with the southern Indians would not bring him under the disqualifying law of Virginia,) and thereby thrown entirely out of employment, and because I had it in my power to ascertain with precision his acceptance. I shall say nothing of his being a man of amiable character and of competent abilities, because in these respects some of the present judges in that State may be his equals; but to what I have said may be added, that he has no employment now, and needs the emolument of one as much as any of them.

I will not conceal from you, that two motives have induced me to give this explanation; the first, if a

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favorable opportunity should present itself, is, that Mr. Wythe may, in a delicate manner, be informed of the principles by which I was governed in this business; the second, that my inducements to appoint Mr. Griffin may not, if the propriety of it should be questioned, be altogether unknown. For having in every appointment endeavoured, as far as my own knowledge of characters extended, or information could be obtained, to select the fittest and most acceptable persons, and having reason to believe that the appointments, which have been made heretofore, have given very general satisfaction, it would give me pain if Mr. Wythe or any of his friends should conceive, that he has been passed by from improper motives. I have prejudices against none, nor partialities which shall bias me in favor of any one. If I err, then, my errors will be of the head, and not of the heart of, my dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.*

TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO. †

GREAT AND MAGNANIMOUS FRIEND,

Since the date of the last letter, which the late Congress by their president addressed to your Impe-

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* In reply Mr. Randolph said; "You may be assured, that Mr. Wythe neither wished nor expected to be the successor of Mr. Pendleton." — *December 15th.* Again; "I found a fortunate moment for a conversation with Mr. Wythe. He repeated what I wrote to you in answer to your favor of the 30th ultimo. Indeed he declared himself happy in believing, that he held a place in your esteem, and that he was confident you had looked towards him with every partiality, which he could wish. Nay, without going into the detail of our discourse, I am convinced from his own mouth, that the knowledge of his present situation is considered by him as the only reason of a seat on the bench not being tendered to him." — *Richmond, December 23d.*

† A treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, made by Mr. Barclay on the part of the United States, was dated the 28th of June, 1786, and ratified

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rial Majesty, the United States of America have thought proper to change their government, and to institute a new one, agreeably to the constitution, of which I have the honor of herewith enclosing a copy. The time necessarily employed in the arduous task, and the derangements occasioned by so great, though peaceable a revolution, will apologize and account for your Majesty's not having received those regular advices, and marks of attention from the United States, which the friendship and magnanimity of your conduct towards them afforded reason to expect.

The United States, having unanimously appointed me to the supreme executive authority in this nation, your Majesty's letter of the 17th of August, 1788, which, by reason of the dissolution of the late government, remained unanswered, has been delivered to me. I have also received the letters, which your Im-

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by Congress on the 18th of July, 1787. By this treaty certain commercial advantages were allowed to vessels from the United States trading to Morocco, and the Emperor seemed disposed to be on terms of amity. Owing to the circuitous mode of communication from the agent in Morocco, through the American ministers in Spain, France, and England, and also to the change of government in the United States, a long time had elapsed since there had been any direct intercourse; and in a letter recently received from Mr. Chiappe, the American agent at Mogadore, were hints implying that the Emperor was not well satisfied with the apparent neglect. In this state of affairs the above letter was written to the Emperor, accompanied by one from Mr. Jay to the agent. According to a promise, which he had made, the Emperor wrote letters to the Bashaws of Tunis and Tripoli, dated August 17th, 1788, in which he said, "We wish, that you may make an undisturbed and perfect peace with the Americans, and that you may do good to the same and to their vessels, because they behave with friendship." The reason given for this wish was, that such a peace would facilitate the communication between Morocco and the dominions of Tunis and Tripoli by means of American vessels. This was represented in the letter as an advantage to all the parties. In a recent instance the Emperor had shown his fidelity to the treaty with the United States, by releasing an American vessel commanded by Captain Proctor, which his cruisers had brought into Mogadore.

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perial Majesty has been so kind as to write in favor of the United States to the Bashaws of Tunis and Tripoli, and I present to you the sincere acknowledgments and thanks of the United States, for this important mark of your friendship for them.

We greatly regret, that the hostile disposition of those regencies towards this nation, who have never injured them, is not to be removed on terms in our power to comply with. Within our territories there are no mines either of gold or silver; and this young nation, just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, has not as yet had time to acquire riches by agriculture and commerce. But our soil is bountiful, and our people industrious; and we have reason to flatter ourselves, that we shall gradually become useful to our friends.

The encouragement, which your Majesty has been pleased generously to give to our commerce with your dominions, the punctuality with which you have caused the treaty with us to be observed, and the just and generous measures taken in the case of Captain Proctor, make a deep impression on the United States, and confirm their respect for, and attachment to, your Imperial Majesty.

It gives me pleasure to have this opportunity of assuring your Majesty, that, while I remain at the head of this nation, I shall not cease to promote every measure that may conduce to the friendship and harmony, which so happily subsist between your empire and them, and shall esteem myself happy in every occasion of convincing your Majesty of the high sense, which, in common with the whole nation, I entertain of the magnanimity, wisdom, and benevolence of your Majesty. In the course of the approaching winter the national legislature, which is called by the former name

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of Congress, will assemble; and I shall take care that nothing be omitted, that may be necessary to cause the correspondence between our countries to be maintained and conducted in a manner agreeable to your Majesty, and satisfactory to all the parties concerned in it.

May the Almighty bless your Imperial Majesty, our great and magnanimous friend, with his constant guidance and protection. Written at the City of New York, the 1st day of December, 1789.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

New York, 17 December, 1789.

SIR,

As I am uncertain of the condition, and even the office, in which the papers containing accounts of our disbursements for subsistence of British prisoners remain; and as it is not improbable, that some negotiations, whenever our union under the general government shall be completed, may take place between the United States and Great Britain, in which an accurate understanding of those accounts will become necessary, I have therefore thought proper to suggest the expediency of having some immediate attention paid to them.

Notwithstanding, on as fair a statement of expenditures as could now be made, much property must undoubtedly be lost by the United States for want of vouchers, and by reason of the negligence with which the business was conducted on our part, yet I was always impressed with an idea, that, under all these disadvantageous circumstances, a very considera-

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ble balance would still be found in our favor. My present wish is, to have the subject so far investigated, as that we might not commit ourselves by bringing forward accounts, which had better continue dormant. Should there be no danger of that kind, it would then be desirable to have the business placed in a state, which might enable us to speak from a general knowledge of facts, and in a proper tone, in case a demand of the American posts held by the King of Great Britain should draw pecuniary subjects into discussion. I believe lists of property, carried away by the British at the time when they evacuated the posts they had occupied during the late war, are lodged in the office of foreign affairs. I am, Sir, &c.

TO JOSEPH WILLARD, PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

New York, 23 December, 1789.

SIR,

Your letter of the 7th ultimo was handed to me a few days since by Mr. Savage, who is now engaged in taking the portrait, which you and the governors of the seminary over which you preside have expressed a desire for, that it may be placed in the philosophy chamber of your University.* I am induced, Sir, to comply with this request from a wish that I have to gratify, as far as with propriety may be done, every reasonable desire of the patrons and promoters of science. And at the same time I feel myself flattered by the polite manner in which I am requested to give

* President Willard had said in his letter; "Mr. Savage, the bearer of this, who is a painter, and is going to New York, has called on me, and of his own accord has politely and generously offered to take your

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this proof of my sincere regard and good wishes for the prosperity of the University of Cambridge. I am, Sir, with great esteem, &c.

TO CLEMENT GOSSLIEN.

New York, 23 December, 1789.

SIR,

I have received, though a long time after its date, your letter of the 7th of September, in which you request my interference or assistance to obtain for you a title to land ceded by the State of New York to the Canadian refugees. Notwithstanding it is my sincere wish, that all those who suffered losses, or rendered services to the American cause, in the late war, should be suitably recompensed and rewarded, yet my present situation forbids any interference on my part, with the doings of an individual State, unless called thereto by my official duty. I have therefore directed a copy of your letter to be given to Governor Clinton, who is undoubtedly acquainted with the circumstances of the case, which you have stated.

I am, Sir, &c.

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portrait for the University, if you will be so kind as to sit. As it would be exceedingly grateful to all the governors of this literary society, that the portrait of the man we so highly love, esteem, and revere, should be the property of and placed within Harvard College, permit me, Sir, to request the favor of your sitting for the purpose, which will greatly oblige the whole Corporation." — *November 7th.* The portrait was executed by Mr. Savage, and deposited in the University. A well finished engraving of it was also made by the same artist and published.

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TO WILLIAM FITZHUGH.

New York, 24 December, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, which announced to us the disagreeable intelligence of Mrs. Plater's death. Mrs. Washington and myself sincerely condole with you, your lady, and the other friends of Mrs. Plater, upon this melancholy event.

Mr. Johnson has, as you supposed, declined the appointment of judge to the district of Maryland, and I have lately appointed Mr. Paca to fill that office. Mr. Thomas, whom you recommend for that place, undoubtedly possesses all those qualifications, which you have ascribed to him; and, so far as my own knowledge of that gentleman extends, he is justly entitled to the reputation which he sustains. But in appointing persons to office, and more especially in the judicial department, my views have been much guided to those characters, who have been conspicuous in their country; not only from an impression of their services, but upon a consideration, that they had been tried, and that a readier confidence would be placed in them by the public than in others perhaps of equal merit, who had never been proved. Upon this principle Mr. Paca certainly stands prior to Mr. Thomas, although the latter may possess in as high a degree every qualification requisite in a judge. With very sincere regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

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TO JABEZ BOWEN.

New York, 27 December, 1789.

SIR,

The letters with which you have been pleased to favor me, dated in October, and the 15th of the present month, came duly to hand, and are entitled to my thanks for the communications contained in them. As it is possible the conduct of Rhode Island, if persevered in, may involve questions in Congress, which will call for my official decisions, it is not fit that I should express more than a wish, in reply to your letter, that the legislature at the coming session would consider well before it again rejects the proposition for calling a convention to decide on their accession to, or rejection of, the present government. The adoption of it by North Carolina has left them entirely alone.* I am much obliged to you for your good wishes, and with esteem and regard, I am, Sir, &c.

* At the first convention in North Carolina the constitution was not ratified; but at a second convention, held in November, 1789, it was adopted by a majority of more than two to one, the vote being one hundred and ninety-three in the affirmative, and seventy-five in the negative. The legislature of Rhode Island, during the session in September, had sent an address to "The President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the *Eleven* United States of America in Congress assembled," in which were contained explanations of the course pursued by that State in not adopting the constitution.

The address was on the whole conciliatory, and gave indications that the tone of opposition was somewhat subsiding in Rhode Island, and would in no event interrupt the harmony of the Union. After stating the grounds upon which the objections of Rhode Island had mainly rested, the Governor closes his communication, in behalf of the legislature, as follows. "We feel ourselves attached by the strongest ties of friendship, kindred, and of interest to our sister States; and we cannot, without the greatest reluctance, look to any other quarter for those advantages of commercial intercourse which we conceive to be more natural and reciprocal between them and us." — See the whole in the APPENDIX, No. VI.

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TO BARON DE POELLNITZ.

New York, 29 December, 1789.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 26th, and given such attention to the manuscript, which accompanied it, as my obligations to public duties would permit. I shall always be happy to see experiments in agricultural machines, which can be brought into general use. Of those in your possession I was not able to form a decided judgment, except in the instance of the horse-hoe. Of the utility of that instrument I was fully convinced. I propose to take some farther occasion of seeing the manner in which the threshing-machine operates, when you shall let me know it is in readiness for the purpose; and in the mean time, I am, with due consideration, &c.*

TO CATHARINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

New York, 9 January, 1790.

MADAM,

Your obliging letter dated in October last has been received, and, as I do not know when I shall have more leisure than at present to throw together a few observations in return for yours, I take up my pen to do it by this early occasion.

In the first place I thank you for your congratulatory sentiments on the event, which has placed me at the head of the American government, as well as for

* The Baron de Poellnitz had a farm in the neighbourhood of New York, where he tried experiments in agriculture. He also wrote a pamphlet on the subject, and was the inventor of various agricultural machines and implements, particularly a threshing-machine and the horse-hoe.

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the indulgent partiality, which it is to be feared may have warped your judgment too much in my favor. But you do me no more than justice in supposing, that, if I had been permitted to indulge my first and fondest wish, I should have remained in a private station.

Although neither the present age nor posterity may possibly give me full credit for the feelings, which I have experienced on this subject, yet I have a consciousness that nothing short of an absolute conviction of duty could ever have brought me upon the scenes of public life again. The establishment of our new government seemed to be the last great experiment for promoting human happiness by a reasonable compact in civil society. It was to be in the first instance, in a considerable degree, a government of accommodation as well as a government of laws. Much was to be done by prudence, much by conciliation, much by firmness. Few, who are not philosophical spectators, can realize the difficult and delicate part, which a man in my situation had to act. All see, and most admire, the glare which hovers round the external happiness of elevated office. To me there is nothing in it beyond the lustre, which may be reflected from its connexion with a power of promoting human felicity.

In our progress towards political happiness my station is new, and, if I may use the expression, I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely an action, the motive of which may not be subject to a double interpretation. There is scarcely any part of my conduct, which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent. Under such a view of the duties inherent in my arduous office, I could not but feel a diffidence in myself on the one hand, and an anxiety for the community, that every new arrangement should be made

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in the best possible manner, on the other. If, after all my humble but faithful endeavours to advance the felicity of my country and mankind, I may indulge a hope, that my labors have not been altogether without success, it will be the only real compensation I can receive in the closing scenes of life.

On the actual situation of this country under its new government, I will, in the next place, make a few remarks. That the government, though not actually perfect, is one of the best in the world, I have little doubt. I always believed, that an unequivocally free and equal representation of the people in the legislature, together with an efficient and responsible executive, was the great pillar on which the preservation of American freedom must depend. It was indeed next to a miracle, that there should have been so much unanimity in points of such importance among such a number of citizens, so widely scattered, and so different in their habits in many respects, as the Americans were. Nor are the growing unanimity and increasing good will of the citizens to the government less remarkable, than favorable circumstances. So far as we have gone with the new government, (and it is completely organized and in operation,) we have had greater reason, than the most sanguine could expect, to be satisfied with its success. Perhaps a number of accidental circumstances has concurred with the real effects of the government to make the people uncommonly well pleased with their situation and prospects. The harvests of wheat have been remarkably good, the demand for that article from abroad is great, the increase of commerce is visible in every port, and the number of new manufactures introduced in one year is astonishing. I have lately made a tour through the eastern States. I found the country in a great de-

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gree recovered from the ravages of war; the towns flourishing, and the people delighted with a government instituted by themselves, and for their own good. The same facts I have also reason to believe, from good authority, exist in the southern States.

By what I have just observed, I think you will be persuaded, that the ill-boding politicians, who prognosticated that America never would enjoy any fruits from her independence, and that she would be obliged to have recourse to foreign power for protection, have at least been mistaken. I shall sincerely rejoice to see, that the American revolution has been productive of happy consequences on both sides of the Atlantic. The renovation of the French constitution is indeed one of the most wonderful events in the history of mankind, and the agency of the Marquis de Lafayette in a high degree honorable to his character. My greatest fear has been, that the nation would not be sufficiently cool and moderate in making arrangements for the security of that liberty, of which it seems to be fully possessed.*

* *From Mrs. Graham's Reply.* — "The present system of American government contains all those principles, which have been regarded as capable of resisting every hostile influence arising either from force or seduction. I once thought, that such a system of government would be invulnerable; as your Excellency must have perceived, if you have ever read a political tract of mine addressed to Paoli, the Corsican general. It is true, that, in that sketch of a democratical government, I endeavoured to keep out corruption by enforcing a general rotation; but I must acknowledge to you, that the corruptions, which have crept into our legislature since the revolution, with the wise caution used by the French patriots in the rules to which they have subjected their National Assembly, have led me to alter my opinion; and this alteration of opinion inclines me to fear, that ill consequences may arise from vesting the legislative body with the power of establishing offices, of regulating the quantum of their salaries, and of enjoying themselves the emoluments arising from such establishments. I should have thought it safer to have made them incapable of holding at least any civil office whilst they were members of the legislature. Those, who have studied mankind with the

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Mr. Warville, the French gentleman you mention, has been in America and at Mount Vernon, but has returned some time since to France. Mrs. Washington is well, and desires her compliments may be presented to you. We wish the happiness of your fireside, as we also long to enjoy that of our own at Mount Vernon. Our wishes, you know, were limited, and I think that our plan of living will now be deemed reasonable by the considerate part of our species. Her wishes coincide with my own, as to simplicity of dress, and every thing which can tend to support propriety of character, without partaking of the follies of luxury and ostentation. I am with great regard, &c.

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greatest attention, find that there is no depending on their virtue, except where all corrupting motives are put out of their way.

"I see also that you have followed the example of the parent state, in dividing your legislature into an upper and a lower House. I once thought, that this was the only method of obtaining the result of deliberate counsels; but I at present am of opinion, that the French have effectually secured themselves from the return of aristocracy in their government, by confining the legislature to one equal assembly, and committing the office of approving laws to the King and the people. May not your upper House in length of time acquire some distinction, which may lay the grounds for political inequality among you? A circumstance, which never ought to take place in a society of freemen. The Americans, free from every part of the feudal tenure, and the unjust distinctions of primogeniture, found it easy, when they had shaken off the yoke of England, to form and regulate a popular government; but, from the circumstance of always having been exempt from the evils of aristocracy, they may not have the same principles of aversion to such pretensions planted in their minds, as now happily exist among the French. They may also have regarded with admiration instead of disgust the splendor of European society, and mistaken the insolence and ostentation of a few citizens for national dignity."—*June*, 1790.

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TO CHARLES PINCKNEY, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Private.

New York, 11 January, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Although it is not in my power to enter so fully as I could wish into an investigation of the interesting subjects, discussed in your letter of the 14th of last month, yet I could not deny myself the satisfaction of acknowledging the receipt of it, and of expressing my obligations for the sentiments, which your Excellency has been pleased to suggest.*

A new monarch having succeeded to the throne of

* Governor Pinckney's letter related to a treaty with Spain, and with the southern Indians. As to the former he said;

"Upon the conclusion of peace I believe it was the intention of that court to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with us, to be our friends, and to do every thing in their power to promote the intercourse. But they mistook the means; for, instead of forming a treaty upon the terms, which would have ensured a reciprocity of benefits, they thought the best way to remove every future ground of difference, to prevent our becoming dangerous neighbours, and to keep us at a distance, was to propose the surrender of a right, as degrading to the honor, as it would have been injurious to the interests, of the Union. I happened to be in Congress at the time the proposal was brought forward through the then secretary, Mr. Jay. Having more leisure, or having more maturely considered the offer, I was requested by the opponents to prepare an answer to the reasons, which Mr. Jay offered in support of Mr. Gardoqui's proposals. This I did, and being afterwards desired by many of the southern members to furnish them with copies, I had a few printed, which were confidentially delivered to some of my friends for their information upon a subject, which at that time very much engaged the attention of the public.

"The court of Spain, being defeated in this measure, have appeared to me entirely to change their ground. The original and I believe the only reason of Spain's anxiety to conclude a treaty with us was, to secure her American continental possessions from being at any time the object of invasion or insult from the southern, or more probably the western, inhabitants of the Union. They ever dreaded the settlement of the western territory, and looked forward to the time when it would become

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Spain, it remains to be ascertained how far his court may insist upon those exclusive claims to the navigation of the Mississippi, which have hitherto prevented the conclusion of a treaty between the United States and that nation. Mr. Gardoqui went to Spain some time ago; nor have we received any thing official from thence since his departure. A private gentleman, a man of good intelligence, lately returned from Spain to America, mentions that a report was believed when he sailed, that the Americans of the United States had formed a successful expedition against the Spanish territory in their neighbourhood, and that the report had

necessary for its inhabitants to use the Mississippi, as a period very likely to produce those uneasinesses, which would perhaps end in the invasion of their dominions. Had they at first proposed a solid and reciprocally beneficial treaty, it would have prevented, or at least postponed for a number of years, any danger of this sort; but having, as I have already observed, wrongly conceived of the means of effecting it, and being foiled in their first attempt, they have now changed their ground. They are endeavouring, by every exertion in their power, to attach, not only the southern Indians, but as many as they possibly can of the inhabitants of the western territory, closely to their interest." — *Charleston, December 14th*, 1789.

These views, respecting the disposition of the Spanish court towards the United States at the time of the general treaty of peace, may at least be doubted. The refusal of that court to receive Mr. Carmichael in the character of *Chargé d'Affaires*, after the signing of the treaty, and the reluctance with which they at last assented, through the personal agency of Lafayette, would not indicate any desire to form ties of alliance with the United States. — *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. X. p. 30. Nor did the tedious manner in which the negotiation was carried on by Mr. Gardoqui, after he came to the United States, and the claims made by him, present the designs of the Spanish cabinet under a more favorable aspect. Much light on this subject may be gathered from a curious *Memoir*, addressed by Count d'Aranda to the King of Spain immediately after signing the treaty of Paris, in which the independence of the United States was recognised by Spain. See *L'Espagne sous les Rois de la Maison de Bourbon*, Tom. VI. p. 45. This work is a French translation of COXE's *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon*, and contains, besides the above Memoir by Count d'Aranda, several important additions, particularly in regard to the policy and conduct of Spain during the American war.

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occasioned a great sensation in the kingdom. Whatever may be the future policy of that nation, I am disposed to become as well acquainted with the merits of the subjects, which have been agitated between them and us since the war, as my other duties and avocations will admit. For this reason, in particular, I thank your Excellency for your confidential communication.

As to the subject of Indian affairs, I can only say in general, that your sentiments on the expediency of entering into treaties with those nations, upon just terms, perfectly coincide with my own. From the official report of the late commissioners for treating with the Creeks, it seems almost certain, that the connexion of Mr. McGillivray with Spain was the principal cause for preventing the conclusion of the proposed treaty. Their report, which is this day to be delivered by the Secretary at War to the Senate, will indicate fully the progress and issue of that business, and the executive will probably be possessed of such documents, as may be useful in taking ulterior measures.* For my own part, I am entirely persuaded, that the present general government will endeavour to lay the foundation for its proceedings in national justice, faith, and honor. But should the government, after having attempted in vain every reasonable pacific measure, be obliged to have recourse to arms for the defence of its citizens, I am also of opinion, that sound policy and good economy will point to a prompt and decisive effort, rather than to defensive and lingering operations.

Should your Excellency, after the expiration of your

* This Report is printed in LOWRIE & CLARKE's *American State Papers*, Vol. IV. p. 59. It contains all the particulars of the attempts of the commissioners to form a treaty, and much valuable information respecting the southern Indians.

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office, prosecute your proposed voyage to France, you will find, I presume, that most extraordinary events have taken place in that kingdom. Although all their political arrangements are not yet settled, I hope they will be happily so, before the period to which you allude.

My late tour through the eastern States has been of salutary consequence in confirming my health. I have likewise had an opportunity of seeing how far the country is recovered from the ravages of war, and how well the inhabitants are disposed to support the general government.

Not being master of my own time, nor accustomed to make personal engagements, which from contingency might become impracticable, I can only say in regard to the last paragraph of your letter, that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to have it in my power to visit all the southern States. With sentiments of the highest respect, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THE MARQUIS DE BELLEGARD, UNITED NETHERLANDS.

New York, 15 January, 1790.

SIR,

I have received your letter, dated the 18th of September, 1789, and in reply to it must inform you, that, so far from living upon terms of intimacy and friendship with the late General Oglethorpe, as it appears by your letter you have understood that I did, I never was so happy as to have any personal acquaintance with that gentleman, nor any other knowledge of him than from his general character. The distance of our places of residence from each other, which is

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nearly one thousand miles, and the different periods in which we have lived, are circumstances which preclude the probability of our having been upon an intimate footing.

I have, however, directed inquiries to be made among the gentlemen from the State of Georgia, who are now attending Congress in this place, respecting the affairs of the late General Oglethorpe, and am informed by them, that they know of no lands belonging to him. One of the gentlemen, a senator from the State of Georgia, mentions his having been written to some time since by Mr. Jefferson, our minister at the court of Versailles, upon the same subject, and in consequence thereof he made every inquiry in his power relative to the matter; but there were no lands in Georgia belonging to General Oglethorpe; and he further adds, that, if there had been property of that gentleman's in Georgia, in the time of the late war with Great Britain, so far from its having been confiscated, it would have met with singular protection, in consequence of the high estimation in which the character of General Oglethorpe stood in that State. I should have been happy, Sir, to have it in my power to give you more pleasing information upon this subject. I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

New York, 21 January, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to receive duly your letter, dated the 15th of December last; but I thought proper to delay answering or mentioning the contents of it, until after the arrival of Mr. Madison, who, I understood, had

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been with you. He arrived yesterday; and I now take the earliest opportunity of mentioning to you the result of my reflections, and the expediency of your deciding, at as early a period as may consist with your convenience, on the important subject before you.

Previous to any remarks on the nature of the office, to which you have been recently appointed, I will premise, that I feel such delicacy and embarrassment, in consequence of the footing on which you have placed your final determination, as to make it necessary for me to recur to the first ground on which I rested the matter. In confidence, therefore, I will tell you plainly, that I wish not to oppose your inclinations, and that, after you shall have been made a little farther acquainted with the light in which I view the office of Secretary of State, it must be at your option to determine relative to your acceptance of it, or continuance in your office abroad.

I consider the successful administration of the general government, as an object of almost infinite consequence to the present and future happiness of the citizens of the United States. I consider the office of secretary for the department of state very important on many accounts, and I know of no person, who in my judgment could better execute the duties of it than yourself. Its duties will probably be not quite so arduous and complicated in their execution, as you may have been led at the first moment to imagine. At least, it was the opinion of Congress, that, after the division of all the business of a domestic nature between the departments of the treasury, war, and state, those which would be comprehended in the latter might be performed by the same person, who should have the charge of conducting the department of foreign affairs. The experiment was to be

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made; and, if it shall be found, that the fact is different, I have little doubt that a farther arrangement or division of the business in the office of the department of state will be made in such manner as to enable it to be performed, under the superintendence of one man, with facility to himself, as well as with advantage and satisfaction to the public. These observations, however, you will be pleased to remark, are merely matters of opinion. But, in order that you may be the better prepared to make your ultimate decision on good grounds, I think it necessary to add one fact, which is this, that, so far as I have been able to obtain information from all quarters, your late appointment has given very extensive and very great satisfaction to the public. My original opinion and wish may be collected from my nomination.

As to what you mention in the latter part of your letter, I can only observe, that I do not know that any alteration is likely to take place in the commission from the United States to the court of France. The necessary arrangements, with regard to our intercourse with foreign nations, have never yet been taken up on a great scale by this government, because the department, which comprehended affairs of that nature, has never been properly organized, so as to bring the business well and systematically before the executive. If you should finally determine to take upon yourself the duties of the department of state, it would be highly requisite for you to come on immediately, as many things are required to be done while Congress is in session, rather than at any other time, and as in that case your presence might doubtless be much better dispensed with after a little time than at the present moment. Or, at all events, it will be essential that I should be informed of your conclusive

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option, so that, if you return to France, another person may be, at as early a day as possible, nominated to fill the department of state. With sentiments of the highest regard and esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

New York, 11 February, 1790.

SIR,

I have weighed with deliberate attention the contents of your letter of yesterday; and, although that consideration may result in an approbation of the ideas therein suggested, yet I do not at present feel myself authorized to give a sanction to the measures which you propose. For, as the constitution of the United States and the laws made under it must mark the line of my official conduct, I could not justify my taking a single step in any matter, which appears to me to require their agency, without its being first obtained; and, so far as I have been able to form a judgment upon the objects held up to view in your letter, they cannot be effected without the operation of a law.

As an act must necessarily be passed to extend the judicial power of the United States to the State of North Carolina, it appears to me that a clause might be there introduced to establish that uniformity and precision in the business of the United States in each district, which you observe is highly proper to be effected, and to make such other regulations as may be thought necessary. I however only suggest this idea to you, that you may, if you think proper, mention it to such members of the Senate and House of Representatives as are acquainted with the subject,

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and thereby have the matter brought to view whenever the abovementioned act shall be under consideration. I am, with great esteem, &c.

TO BARON POELLNITZ.

New York, 23 March, 1790.

SIR,

I received a few days ago your letter on the subject of establishing a farm under the public patronage, for the purpose of increasing and extending agricultural knowledge; in answer to which I have only leisure to make the following general observations. As I have passed a considerable portion of my life very satisfactorily in the business of agriculture, it will be understood, that I am alike fond of it on individual account, and on account of its public emoluments. But, however convinced I am of the great advantages to be derived to the community from improvements in it, however susceptible of improvements I consider the present state of farming in this country, and however desirous I am of seeing these improvements take place immediately, yet, in my public capacity, I know not whether I can with propriety do any thing more at present than what I have already done. I have brought the subject in my speech at the opening of the present session of Congress before the national legislature. It rests with them to decide what measures ought afterwards to be adopted for promoting the success of the great objects, which I have recommended to their attention. I can only say further, that whatever wise and prudent plans may be deemed most feasible and effectual (as being clearly within the

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functions and abilities of the general government), will meet with my ready and hearty concurrence.

Since the seat of government of the United States is not yet determined, and since the subject of finance has not yet received such a form as may justify any considerable new expenditures, it is hardly probable that Congress could enter deeply into the discussion of your meditated improvements in agriculture, during their actual session. But I request, Sir, you will be persuaded, that, at all events, I have a proper sense of your zeal in this matter, that I have great confidence in your ability, and ardent wishes for your success; being with due consideration, Sir, &c.

TO DAVID STUART.

New York, 28 March, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 15th, enclosing the act of Assembly authorizing an agreement with Mr. Alexander, came to my hand at the moment my last to you was despatched.*

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* *From Dr. Stuart's Letter.*—"A spirit of jealousy, which may become dangerous to the Union, towards the eastern States, seems to be growing fast among us. It is represented, that the northern phalanx is so firmly united, as to bear down all opposition, while Virginia is unsupported, even by those whose interests are similar to hers. It is the language of all I have seen on their return from New York. Colonel Lee tells me, that many, who were warm supporters of the government, are changing their sentiments, from a conviction of the impracticability of union with States, whose interests are so dissimilar to those of Virginia. I fear the Colonel is one of the number. The late applications to Congress, respecting the slaves, will certainly tend to promote this spirit. It gives particular umbrage, that the Quakers should be so busy in this business. That they will raise up a storm against themselves, appears to me very certain. Mr. Madison's sentiments are variously spoken of; so much so, that it is impossible to ascertain whether they are

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I am sorry such jealousies as you speak of should be gaining ground, and are poisoning the minds of the southern people; but admit the fact, which is alleged as the cause of them, and give it full scope, does it amount to more than was known to every man of information before, at, and since the adoption of the constitution? Was it not always believed, that there are some points which peculiarly interest the eastern States? And did any one, who reads human nature, and more especially the character of the eastern people, conceive that they would not pursue them steadily by a combination of their force? Are there not other points, which equally concern the southern States? If these States are less tenacious of their interest, or if, whilst the eastern move in a solid phalanx to effect their views, the southern are always divided, which of the two is most to be blamed? That there is a diversity of interests in the Union none has denied. That this is the case, also, in every State is equally certain; and that it even extends to the counties of individual States can be as readily proved. Instance the southern and northern parts of Virginia, the upper and lower parts of South Carolina. Have not the interests of these always been at variance? Witness the county of Fairfax. Have not the interests of the people of that county varied, or the inhabitants been taught to believe so? These are well known truths, and yet it did not follow, that separation was to result from the disagreement.

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approved of by a majority or not. The commercial and most noisy part is certainly against them. It appears to me to be such a deviation from the plain and beaten track, as must make every creditor of the public tremble. His plan of discrimination is founded too much on principles of equity to please even those, who have advocated always a discrimination. If the public was to gain what the original holders lost in their sales, I believe it would have pleased this description of citizens better." — *Abingdon, Virginia, March 15th.*

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To constitute a dispute there must be two parties. To understand it well, both parties, and all the circumstances, must be fully heard; and, to accommodate differences, temper and mutual forbearance are requisite. Common danger brought the States into confederacy, and on their union our safety and importance depend. A spirit of accommodation was the basis of the present constitution. Can it be expected, then, that the southern or eastern parts of the empire will succeed in all their measures? Certainly not. But I will readily grant, that more points will be carried by the latter than the former, and for the reason which has been mentioned, namely, that, in all great national questions, they move in unison, whilst the others are divided. But I ask again, which is most blameworthy, those who see, and will steadily pursue their interest, or those who cannot see, or, seeing, will not act wisely? And I will ask another question, of the highest magnitude in my mind, to wit, if the eastern and northern States are dangerous *in union*, will they be less so *in separation?* If self-interest is their governing principle, will it forsake them, or be restrained by such an event? I hardly think it would. Then, independently of other considerations, what would Virginia, and such other States as might be inclined to join her, gain by a separation? Would they not, most unquestionably, be the weaker party?

Men, who go from hence without feeling themselves of so much consequence as they wished to be considered, and disappointed expectants, added to malignant, designing characters, who miss no opportunity of aiming a blow at the constitution, paint highly on one side, without bringing into view the arguments, which are offered on the other.

It is to be lamented, that the editors of the differ-

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ent gazettes in the Union do not more generally and more correctly (instead of stuffing their papers with scurrility and nonsensical declamation, which few would read if they were apprized of the contents,) publish the debates in Congress on all great national questions. And this, with no uncommon pains, every one of them might do. The principles upon which the difference of opinion arises, as well as the decisions, would then come fully before the public, and afford the best data for its judgment.

Mr. Madison on the question of discrimination was actuated, I am convinced, by the purest motives and most heart-felt conviction; but the subject was delicate, and perhaps had better never have been stirred.

The assumption of the State debts by the United States is another subject, that has given rise to long and labored debates, without having yet taken a final form.

The memorial of the Quakers (and a very *mal-apropos* one it was) has at length been put to sleep, and will scarcely awake before the year 1808.*

I am, dear Sir, &c.

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* At the annual meetings of the Quakers, held at Philadelphia and New York, in the year 1789, they had sent memorials to Congress, praying that measures might be adopted for the abolition of the slave-trade. These memorials were referred to a committee, who brought in a report, which was debated from time to time, and after various amendments was reported by the committee of the whole House as follows;

"That the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, cannot be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808.

"That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them within any of the States; it remaining with the several States alone to provide any regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require.

"That Congress have authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on the African trade, for the purpose of supplying foreigners with slaves, and of providing by proper regulations for the

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TO THE CHIEF JUSTICE, AND ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

New York, 3 April, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I have always been persuaded, that the stability and success of the national government, and consequently the happiness of the people of the United States, would depend in a considerable degree on the interpretation and execution of its laws. In my opinion, therefore, it is important, that the judiciary system should not only be independent in its operations, but as perfect as possible in its formation.

As you are about to commence your first circuit, and many things may occur in such an unexplored field, which it would be useful should be known, I think it proper to acquaint you, that it will be agreeable to me to receive such information and remarks on this subject, as you shall from time to time judge expedient to communicate. I have the honor to be, &c.

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humane treatment, during their passage, of slaves imported by the said citizens into the States admitting such importation."

Such was considered by a majority of Congress as a just interpretation of the constitution on this subject. The first paragraph is a recital of the clause in the constitution, which refers to the slave-trade as then existing. By a prospective legislation Congress prohibited the importation of slaves by an act, which took effect in the year 1808. By a subsequent act, passed in the year 1820, the slave-trade was declared to be piracy, and punishable with death. — STORY's *Commentaries*, Vol. III. p. 205. For a condensed history of slavery in the United States, and of the progress of emancipation, see KENT's *Commentaries*, Vol. II. p. 347, 2d edition. Much information respecting colonial slavery, drawn from the best authorities, and judiciously arranged, is contained in BANCROFT's *History of the United States*, Vol. I. chap. 5. See also WALSH's *Appeal*, p. 306.

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TO THE MARQUIS DE LA LUZERNE.*

New York, 29 April, 1790.

SIR,

Your letter of the 17th of January, replete with politeness to myself and useful information respecting public affairs, has but lately been received.†

In making my acknowledgments for the distinguished place I hold in your remembrance, and for the obliging terms in which you allude to my conduct in war and peace, I should do injustice to conceal the favorable sentiments, which were always entertained by myself and my countrymen of your private deportment and ministerial agency, while you resided in America. Those times, in which we always found you a sincere friend, were truly times of peril and distress. Now our situation is indeed much more eligible, and our prospects perhaps as good as could reasonably have been expected. We are recovering slowly from the calamities and burdens, with which

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* M. de la Luzerne had been raised to the rank of Marquis, and was now the ambassador from the court of France in London.

† *From the Marquis de la Luzerne's Letter.* — "I dare flatter myself, that your Excellency does justice to the very tender and respectful attachment, which I have long entertained towards you, and that you will be persuaded of the great pleasure with which I have learned the success, that has followed the first movements of your administration. After having given freedom to your country, it was worthy of the virtues and great character of your Excellency to establish its happiness on a solid and permanent basis, which is assuredly the result of the new federal constitution, in framing which you assisted by your counsel, and which you now support, as much by the splendor of your talents and patriotism, as by the eminent situation confided to you by your fellow-citizens. They possess the advantage of enjoying more particularly your beneficence, and the honor of having you born among them; but I dare assure you, that the consideration which you enjoy throughout Europe, and particularly in my country, yields not even to that, which you have obtained in your native land; and, notwithstanding the prejudices of the people, with whom I here live, there is not one among them, who does

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we were almost overwhelmed by a long and expensive war. Our crops the year past have been more abundant, and our markets much better, than usual. These circumstances will assist in enabling our citizens to extricate themselves from their private and public debts. I hope a disposition will be found to prevail among us for doing justice, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to all who afforded us their assistance in the hour of adversity. In the arrangement of such new and complicated business, as must inevitably come before our general government, it is reasonably to be expected, that the proceedings will be slow. It is devoutly to be wished, that they may terminate in such just and wise measures, as will fully establish our happiness at home and credit abroad. I am much pleased with the interest you take in our national reputation, and the information you give that our credit is becoming so respectable in Europe, under the influence of our new government.

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not pronounce your name with sentiments of respect and veneration. All are acquainted with the services you have rendered to your country as their general in the course of the war, and with those, perhaps still greater, which you now render as a statesman in peace.

"The love of glory and of freedom, which led the Americans to surmount such great difficulties, must still prevail to establish the principles of justice towards those of their fellow-citizens and strangers, who assisted them in their distress; and I have seen with great pleasure, that, from the first moment in which you have appeared at the head of the federal government, the credit of the American nation has been established in every country of Europe, and that the confidence in her resources and means is infinitely better founded than in many of the older powers.

"Your friend the Marquis de Lafayette finds himself at the head of the revolution, and it is indeed a very fortunate circumstance for the state that he is, but very little so for himself. Never has any man been placed in a more critical situation. A good citizen, a faithful subject, he is embarrassed by a thousand difficulties in making many people sensible of what is proper, who very often feel it not, and who sometimes will not understand what it is." — *London, January 17th.*

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You are right in conceiving, that nothing can be indifferent to me, which regards the welfare of the French nation. So far removed as I am from that great theatre of political action, and so little acquainted with many of the minute circumstances, which may induce important decisions, it would be imprudent for me to hazard opinions, which might possibly be unfounded. Indeed, the whole business is so extraordinary in its commencement, so wonderful in its progress, and may be so stupendous in its consequences, that I am almost lost in the contemplation. Of one thing, however, you may rest perfectly assured, that nobody is more anxious for the happy issue of that business, than I am; as no one can wish more sincerely for the prosperity of the French nation, than I do. Nor is it without the most sensible pleasure I learn, that our friend the Marquis de Lafayette has, in acting the arduous part which has fallen to his share, conducted himself with so much wisdom and apparently to such general satisfaction.

We, at this great distance from the northern parts of Europe, hear of wars and rumors of wars, as if they were the events or reports of another planet. What changes the death of the Emperor will occasion in the other cabinets of Europe, time is yet to inform us. A spirit for political improvements seems to be rapidly and extensively spreading through the European countries. I shall rejoice in seeing the condition of the human race happier than ever it has hitherto been. But I should be sorry to see, that those, who are for prematurely accelerating those improvements, were making more haste than good speed in their innovations. So much prudence, so much perseverance, so much disinterestedness, and so much patriotism are necessary among the leaders of a nation, in order

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to promote the national felicity, that sometimes my fears nearly preponderate over my expectations. Better, however, will it be for me to leave such foreign matters to those, who are more competent to manage them, and to do as much good as I can, in the little sphere where I am destined to move at present. With sentiments of the highest esteem and consideration, I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

New York, 3 June, 1790.

My dear Marquis,

Your kind letter of the 12th of January is, as your letters always are, extremely acceptable to me. By some chance its arrival has been retarded to this time. Conscious of your friendly dispositions for me, and realizing the enormous burden of public business with which you were oppressed, I felt no solicitude but that you should go directly forward, and happily effect your great undertakings. How much, how sincerely am I rejoiced, my dear Marquis, to find that things are assuming so favorable an aspect in France. Be assured, that you always have my best and most ardent wishes for your success; and that, if I have not troubled you with letters of late, it was because I had nothing, which it was very essential to communicate, and because I knew how much better your time was employed, than in answering letters merely of a private nature.

You have doubtless been informed, from time to time, of the happy progress of our affairs. The principal difficulties, which opposed themselves in any shape to the prosperous execution of our government,

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seem in a great measure to have been surmounted. A good temper prevails among our citizens. Rhode Island has just now acceded to the constitution, and has thus united under the general government all the States of the original confederacy.* Vermont we hope will soon come within the pale of the Union. Two new States exist under the immediate direction of the general government, namely, that at the head of which is General St. Clair, and that which consists of the territory lately ceded by the State of North Carolina.

Our government is now happily carried into operation. Although some thorny questions still remain, it is to be hoped that the wisdom of those concerned in the national legislature will dispose of them prudently. A funding system is one of the subjects, which occasions most anxiety and perplexity. Yet our revenues have been considerably more productive, than it was imagined they would be. In the last year, the plentiful crops and great prices of grain have vastly augmented our remittances. The rate of exchange is also much in our favor. Importations of European goods have been uncommonly extensive, and the duties payable into the public treasury proportionably so. Our trade to the East Indies flourishes. The profits to individuals are so considerable, as to induce more persons to engage in it continually. A single vessel, just arrived in this port, pays thirty thousand dollars to government. Two vessels, fitted out for the fur trade to the northwest coast of America, have succeeded well. The whole outfits of vessels and cargoes cost but seven thousand pounds. One is returning home, loaded with India produce, the other going back to the coast of America; and they have

* The ratification took place on the 29th of May at Newport.

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deposited one hundred thousand dollars of their profits in China. I mention this to show the spirit of enterprise that prevails. I hope and trust our commerce with the West India Islands, belonging to different nations, which is at present of no great consequence, will shortly be placed upon a better footing. As the people of this country are sensible of the generous conduct of the French nation, I can with great satisfaction give it as my decided opinion, that the most friendly dispositions prevail on our side of the water towards that nation.

Many of your old acquaintances and friends are concerned with me in the administration of this government. By having Mr. Jefferson at the head of the department of state, Mr. Jay of the judiciary, Hamilton of the treasury, and Knox of that of war, I feel myself supported by able coadjutors, who harmonize extremely well together. I believe that these and the other appointments generally have given perfect satisfaction to the public. Poor Colonel Harrison, who was appointed one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court, and declined, is lately dead.*

I have a few days since had a severe attack of the peripneumony kind; but am now recovered, except in point of strength. My physicians advise me to more exercise and less application to business. I cannot, however, avoid persuading myself, that it is essential to accomplish whatever I have, though reluctantly, undertaken, to the best of my abilities. But it is thought Congress will have a recess this summer, in which case I propose going for a while to Mount Vernon. With sentiments of the sincerest affection, I am, my dear Marquis, &c.

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* This was Colonel Robert H. Harrison, who was General Washington's secretary during a large part of the revolutionary war.

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TO ARTHUR FENNER, GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.

New York, 4 June, 1790.

SIR,

In acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 29th of May, I cannot forbear to congratulate you and the people of your State upon the happy event, which has since taken place by the adoption and ratification of the constitution of the United States by the convention of Rhode Island.

Having now attained the desirable object of uniting under one general government all those States, which were originally confederated, we have a right to expect, with the blessing of a divine Providence, that our country will afford us all those domestic enjoyments, of which a free people only can boast; and at the same time secure that respectability abroad, which she is entitled to by nature and from circumstances. Since the bond of union is now complete, and we once more consider ourselves as one family, it is much to be hoped, that reproaches will cease and prejudices be done away; for we should all remember, that we are members of that community, upon whose general success depends our particular and individual welfare; and, therefore, if we mean to support the liberty and independence, which it has cost us so much blood and treasure to establish, we must drive far away the demon of party spirit and local reproach.

I should be deficient in politeness, as well as sensibility, were I to close this letter without acknowledging the impression, which the great personal regard and warm wishes for my individual felicity expressed in your letter have made on me.

I have the honor to be, &c.

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TO DAVID STUART.

New York, 15 June, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 2d instant came duly to hand. If there are any gazettes among my files at Mount Vernon, which can be of use to you, they are at your service.

Your description of the public mind in Virginia gives me pain. It seems to be more irritable, sour, and discontented, than, from the information I receive, it is in any other State in the Union, except Massachusetts, which, from the same causes, but on quite different principles, is tempered like it.*

* *From Dr. Stuart's Letter.* — "I shall now endeavour to give you all the information I have been able to collect during my journey, respecting the present temper of mind of the people of Virginia, so far as I can judge from those I mixed with, and from what I could hear. I could wish indeed to speak more favorably of it; but it appears to me, that the late transactions of Congress have soured the public mind to a great degree; which was just recovering from the fever, which the slave business had occasioned, when the late much-agitated question of the State debts came on. With respect to the slave business, I am informed by Mr. Lomax, whom I met on his return from Pittsylvania, that great advantages had been taken of it in that distant quarter by many, who wished to purchase slaves, circulating a report, that Congress were about to pass an act for their general emancipation. This occasioned such an alarm, that many were sold for the merest trifle. The sellers were of course much enraged at Congress for taking up a subject they were precluded by the constitution from meddling with for the present, and thus furnishing the occasion for the alarm which induced them to sell. As the people in that part of the country were before much opposed to the government, it may naturally be supposed, that this circumstance has embittered them much more against it.

"As to the assumption of the State debts, I scarce think it would be a measure generally acceptable on any principles. On such as have been contended for, I hardly think it would be acquiesced in by this State. How far indeed a certain degree of shame or obstinacy natural to the human mind, which acts as a constant check on every rising disposition to depart from a cause or side once resolutely espoused, would continue to operate, I know not. But setting this aside, I think I should not be

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That Congress does not proceed with all that despatch, which people at a distance expect, and which, were they to hurry business, they possibly might, is not to be denied. That measures have been agitated, which are not pleasing to Virginia, and others, pleasing perhaps to her, but not to some other States, is equally

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far wrong in saying there would be as nearly a unanimity of opinion for an opposition, as perhaps could ever be expected on any subject. There is, in general, I think, in consequence of these two instances, a strong apprehension, that the predictions relative to the grasping at power by unwarrantable constructions of the constitution will be verified. On these two subjects, at least, it is observed by most, (for there are some, who, after a proper liquidation and allowance of credit to the States for what has been paid, approve of the assumption,) that the constitution appeared so clear as to be incapable of misconstruction by those, who wished to make it a rule and guide to their conduct.

"At any rate, on a subject of such importance, which may be considered as doubtful in any shape under the constitution, it would at least have been prudent in the members to consult the general sentiments entertained of it in their respective States. But it really appears, as if they were so charmed with the plenitude of their powers, as to have considered this a degrading step. A strong suspicion, too, is entertained, from the number of speculators, who have been traversing the State purchasing up State securities, that there is a good deal of selfishness mixed with the plan; and this perhaps causes it to be viewed with more particular dislike. Mr. Madison's conduct in this business has gained him great popularity, even among those who are illiberal enough to pass severe censures on his motives respecting his discrimination plan.

"As I passed through Richmond, the news of the rejection of the motion made by Mr. Lee, for opening the doors of the Senate, agreeably to his instructions from our legislature, had just arrived. It occasioned much disgust; but the manner of the rejection seemed to be as offensive as the rejection itself; it being said, that, after speaking two days ably on the subject without receiving an answer, the question was called for and lost; no one voting with him but his colleague and Mr. Maclay. It is supposed it will be productive of an application from our legislature to the other States, calling on them to join them in similar instructions to their members. It is a pity the public wish, as I believe it to be, in so trivial a matter, cannot be gratified. The slowness with which the business is carried on is another cause of complaint. Congress, it is said, sit only four hours a day, and like school-boys observe every Saturday as a holiday. If this be true, it is certainly trifling with their constituents in the extreme, who pay them liberally, and have therefore a right to expect more diligence from them. It is the more unfortunate, as it

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unquestionable. Can it well be otherwise in a country so extensive, so diversified in its interests? And will not these different interests naturally produce, in an assembly of representatives, who are to legislate for and to assimilate and reconcile them to the *general* welfare, long, warm, and animated debates? Most

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is represented, at the same time, that they generally live for two dollars a day.

"I have now gone through the catalogue of public discontents, and it really pains me much, and I believe every friend to the government, to think that there should be so much cause for them; and that a spirit so subversive of the true principles of the constitution, productive of jealousies alone, and fraught with such high ideas of their power, should have manifested itself at so early a period of the government. If Mr. Henry has sufficient boldness to aim the blow at its existence, which he has threatened, I think he can never meet with a more favorable opportunity, if the assumption should take place on the principles on which it has been contended for; and I understand, that, though lost at present, it is to be again brought on. But I doubt much whether he possesses so adventurous a spirit. It will be the fault of those, who are the promoters of such disgustful measures, if he ever does, or indeed any one else. I believe it has ever been considered as a maxim in governments recently established, and which depend on the affections of the people, that what is rigidly right ought not to be the only standard of conduct with those who govern. Their inclinations and passions, too, must be consulted more or less in order to effect ultimately what is right. How much more ought this to be done, when it rests solely on a construction of their powers, whether a measure in contemplation ought to be carried into execution or not.

"A member of the Council, who wrote privately to Mr. Henry to know if he would accept of the office of Senator in Congress if appointed, showed me his answer, in which he declines it, and says he is too old to fall into those awkward imitations, which are now become fashionable. From this expression I suspect the old patriot has heard some extraordinary representations of the etiquette established at your levees. Those of his party no doubt think they promote themselves in his good opinion by such high coloring. It may not be amiss, therefore, to inform you that B—— is among the dissatisfied on this score. I am informed by good authority, that he represented that there was more pomp used there than at St. James's, where he had been, and that your bows were more distant and stiff. This happened at the governor's table in Richmond By such accounts, I have no doubt the party think to keep alive the opposition and aversion to the government, and probably, too, to make proselytes to their opinions." — *Abingdon, June 2d.*

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assuredly they will; and if there was the same propensity in mankind for investigating the motives, as there is for censuring the conduct of public characters, it would be found, that the censure so freely bestowed is oftentimes unmerited and uncharitable. For instance, the condemnation of Congress for sitting only four hours in the day. The fact is, by the established rules of the House of Representatives, no committee can sit whilst the House is sitting; and this is and has been for a considerable time from ten o'clock in the forenoon until three, often later, in the afternoon; before and after which the business is going on in committees. If this application is not as much as most constitutions are equal to, I am mistaken.

Many other things, which undergo malignant constructions, would be found, upon a candid examination, to wear a better face than is given to them. The misfortune is, that the enemies to the government, always more active than its friends, and always upon the watch to give it a stroke, neglect no opportunity to aim one. If they tell truth, it is not the whole truth, by which means one side only of the picture is exhibited; whereas, if both sides were seen, it might and probably would assume a different form, in the opinion of just and candid men, who are disposed to measure matters by a Continental scale.

I do not mean, however, from what I have here said, to justify the conduct of Congress in all its movements; for some of these movements, in my opinion, have been injudicious, and others unseasonable; whilst the questions of assumption, residence, and other matters have been agitated with a warmth and intemperance, with prolixity and threats, which it is to be feared have lessened the dignity of that body, and decreased that respect, which was once entertained for it. And

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this misfortune is increased by many members, even among those who wish well to the government, ascribing in letters to their respective States, when they are defeated in a favorite measure, the worst motives for the conduct of their opponents; who, viewing matters through another medium, may and do retort in their turn, by which means jealousies and distrusts are spread most impolitically far and wide, and will, it is to be feared, have a most unhappy tendency to injure our public affairs, which if wisely managed might make us, as we are now by Europeans thought to be, the happiest people upon earth. As a proof of it, our reputation has risen in every part of the globe, and our credit, especially in Holland (where our funds are above par), has got higher than that of any nation in Europe, as appears by official advices just received. But the conduct we seem to be pursuing must soon bring us back to our former disreputable condition. The introduction of the Quaker memorial respecting slavery was, to be sure, not only *ill-timed*, but occasioned a great waste of time. The final decision, thereon, however, was as favorable as the proprietors of this species of property could well have expected, considering the light in which slavery is viewed by a large part of this Union.

The question of assumption has occupied a great deal of time, and no wonder, for it is certainly a very important question; and, under proper restrictions and scrutiny into accounts, it will be found, I conceive, to be a just one. The cause, in which the expenses of the war were incurred, was a common cause. The States (in Congress) declared it so at the beginning, and pledged themselves to stand by each other. If, then, some States were harder pressed than others, or from particular and local circumstances contracted

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heavier debts, it is but reasonable, when this fact is clearly ascertained, though it is a sentiment which I have not communicated here, that an allowance ought to be made to them. Had the invaded and hard pressed States believed the case would have been otherwise, opposition would very soon, I believe, have changed to submission in them, and given a different termination to the war.

In a letter of last year, to the best of my recollection, I informed you of the motives, which *compelled* me to allot a day for the reception of idle and ceremonious visits, (for it never has prevented those of sociability and friendship in the afternoon, or at any other time;) but, if I am mistaken in this, the history of this business is simply and shortly as follows. Before the custom was established, which now accommodates foreign characters, strangers, and others, who, from motives of curiosity, respect to the Chief Magistrate, or any other cause, are induced to call upon me, I was unable to attend to any business whatsoever; for gentlemen, consulting their own convenience rather than mine, were calling from the time I rose from breakfast, often before, until I sat down to dinner. This, as I resolved not to neglect my public duties, reduced me to the choice of one of these alternatives, either to refuse them altogether, or to appropriate a time for the reception of them. The former would, I well knew, be disgusting to many; the latter I expected would undergo animadversion and blazoning from those, who would find fault *with* or *without* cause. To please every body was impossible. I therefore adopted that line of conduct, which combined public advantage with private convenience, and which in my judgment was unexceptionable in itself. That I have not been able to make bows to the taste of poor Colonel B. (who, by the by, I believe never

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saw one of them), is to be regretted, especially too, as, upon those occasions, they were indiscriminately bestowed, and the best I was master of. Would it not have been better to throw the veil of charity over them, ascribing their stiffness to the effects of age, or to the unskilfulness of my teacher, rather than to pride and dignity of office, which God knows has no charms for me? For I can truly say, I had rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government by the officers of state and the representatives of every power in Europe.

These visits are optional. They are made without invitation. Between the hours of three and four every Tuesday I am prepared to receive them. Gentlemen, often in great numbers, come and go, chat with each other, and act as they please. A porter shows them into the room, and they retire from it when they please, and without ceremony. At their first entrance, they salute me, and I them, and as many as I can talk to, I do. What pomp there is in all this, I am unable to discover. Perhaps it consists in not sitting. To this, two reasons are opposed; first, it is unusual; secondly, which is a more substantial one, because I have no room large enough to contain a third of the chairs, which would be sufficient to admit it. If it is supposed, that ostentation, or the fashions of courts (which, by the by, I believe originate oftener in convenience, not to say necessity, than is generally imagined), gave rise to this custom, I will boldly affirm, that no supposition was ever more erroneous; for, if I were to give indulgence to my inclinations, every moment that I could withdraw from the fatigue of my station should be spent in retirement. That it is not, proceeds from the sense I entertain of the propriety of giving to

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every one as free access, as consists with that respect, which is due to the chair of government; and that respect, I conceive, is neither to be acquired nor preserved but by observing a just medium between much state and too great familiarity.

Similar to the above, but of a more sociable kind, are the visits every Friday afternoon to Mrs. Washington, where I always am. These public meetings, and a dinner once a week to as many as my table will hold, with the references to and from the different departments of state, and other communications with all parts of the Union, are as much, if not more, than I am able to undergo; for I have already had, within less than a year, two severe attacks, the last worse than the first. A third, more than probably, will put me to sleep with my fathers. At what distance this may be I know not. Within the last twelve months I have undergone more and severer sickness, than thirty preceding years afflicted me with. I have abundant reason, however, to be thankful, that I am so well recovered; though I still feel the remains of the violent affection of my lungs; the cough, pain in my breast, and shortness of breathing not having entirely left me. I propose in the recess of Congress to visit Mount Vernon; but when this recess will happen is beyond my ken, or the ken I believe of any of its members.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO SAMUEL POWEL.

New York, 20 June, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 11th instant was handed to me by Mr. Parish, together with proposals for publishing,

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and requesting permission to dedicate to me, the Travels of Mr. William Bartram through Florida.

The request I declined, as I have done many others of a similar nature, not with a view to discourage a work of this kind, which I am persuaded, if executed by an able hand, may be very useful among us; but to avoid with propriety future applications of this nature, unless where some particular circumstances might induce a compliance. If affixing my name as a subscriber to this work can promote the author's good intentions, I am happy in having done it; and I sincerely wish it all the success, which its merits may demand. With very great esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THE PROTECTORS AND DIRECTORS OF THE POETICAL SOCIETY OF LEYDEN IN HOLLAND.

New York, 30 June, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received, through the hands of Mr. Dumas, the Poems and Epistles, which you did me the honor to address to me in July last. Gratefully impressed as I am, Gentlemen, with this mark of your politeness and attention to me, you will permit me to offer my best thanks, and to assure you, that I shall ever entertain a proper sense of the good wishes of your Society for my welfare and happiness, which were so warmly expressed in your letter to me; and at the same time, give me leave to add, that I feel myself highly flattered by the favorable opinion, which those entertain of my sentiments and conduct, who may not have received any personal benefit from my exertions. Reciprocating the benedictions on you and your Society, which you have bestowed on me, I am, Gentlemen, &c.

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TO THE COUNT DE SÉGUR, MINISTER FROM THE COURT OF FRANCE AT ST. PETERSBURG.

New York, 1 July, 1790.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 24th of August last; and I beg that you will be persuaded, that I have a grateful heart for the congratulations, which you offer upon the organization of our new government, as well as for the warm expressions of personal attachment and good wishes for my happiness, which your letter contains.

It is with singular pleasure I can inform your Excellency, that the union of the States is now complete under the new government, by the late accession of Rhode Island to the constitution. This event will enable us to make a fair experiment of a constitution, which was framed solely with a view to promote the happiness of a people. Its effects hitherto have equalled the expectations of its most sanguine friends; and there can remain no reasonable doubts of its producing those consequences, which were expected from an equal and efficient government.

Should the conduct of the Americans, whilst promoting their own happiness, influence the feelings of other nations, and thereby render a service to mankind, they will receive a double pleasure, in which no one will rejoice more than he, who has the honor to subscribe himself, your Excellency's, &c.

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TO THOMAS PAINE.*

New York, 10 August, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I have received in their due order, and have to acknowledge at this time my obligations for your three agreeable letters, in date October 16th, 1789, May 1st and May 31st of the present year.† With the last I had also the pleasure to receive the key of the Bastille; in acknowledgment of which I write to the Marquis de Lafayette by this conveyance.

It must, I dare say, give you great pleasure to learn

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* Thomas Paine was at this time in London, employed in constructing an iron bridge upon a new model, which he had invented.

† *From Mr. Paine's Letter.* — "Our very good friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, has entrusted to my care the key of the Bastille, and a drawing handsomely framed, representing the demolition of that detestable prison, as a present to your Excellency, of which his letter will more particularly inform you. I feel myself happy in being the person through whom the Marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the spoils of despotism, and the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted into Europe, to his great master and patron. When he mentioned to me the present he intended you, my heart leaped with joy. It is something so truly in character, that no remarks can illustrate it, and is more happily expressive of his remembrance of his American friends than any letters can convey. That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the key comes to the right place.

"I beg leave to suggest to your Excellency the propriety of congratulating the King and Queen of France (for they have been our friends), and the National Assembly, on the happy example they are giving to Europe. You will see by the King's speech, which I enclose, that he prides himself on being at the head of the revolution; and I am certain, that such a congratulation will be well received, and have a good effect.

"I should rejoice to be the direct bearer of the Marquis's present to your Excellency, but I doubt I shall not be able to see my much loved America till next spring. I shall therefore send it by some American vessel to New York. I have permitted no drawing to be taken here, though it has been often requested, as I think there is a propriety that it should first be presented. But Mr. West wishes Mr. Trumbull to make a painting of the presentation of the key to you." — *London, May 1st.*

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by repeated opportunities, that our new government answers its purposes as well as could have been reasonably expected, that we are gradually overcoming the difficulties, which presented themselves in its first organization, and that our prospects in general are growing daily more favorable. To detail the facts and circumstances, comprised under this general view of our affairs, would require more leisure than I have it in my power to devote to the subject at this period. Fortunately for me, Colonel Humphreys, with whom you are acquainted and who will probably have the pleasure of delivering this letter to you, will be able to explain our situation fully. To him, therefore, I refer you for all particulars; being with great esteem, dear Sir, &c.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

New York, 11 August, 1790.

MY DEAR MARQUIS,

I have received your affectionate letter of the 17th of March by one conveyance, and the token of the victory* gained by liberty over despotism by another; for both which testimonials of your friendship and regard I pray you to accept my sincerest thanks. In this great subject of triumph for the new world, and for humanity in general, it will never be forgotten how conspicuous a part you bore, and how much lustre you reflected on a country, in which you made the first displays of your character.†

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* Key of the Bastille.

† *From Lafayette's Letter.* — "Our revolution is getting on as well as it can with a nation that has attained its liberty at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom. The Assembly have more

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Happy am I, my good friend, that, amidst all the tremendous tempests, which have assailed your political ship, you have had address and fortitude enough to steer her hitherto safely through the quicksands and rocks, which threatened instant destruction on every side; and that your young King in all things seems so well disposed to conform to the wishes of the nation. In such an important, such a hazardous voyage, when every thing dear and sacred is embarked, you know full well my best wishes have never left you for a moment. Yet I will avow, that the accounts we received through the English papers, which were sometimes our

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hatred to the ancient system, than experience in the proper organization of a new and constitutional government. The ministers are lamenting their loss of power, and afraid to use that, which they have; and, as every thing has been destroyed, and not much of the new building is yet above ground, there is room for criticisms and calumnies. To this it may be added, that we still are pestered by two parties, the aristocratic, that is panting for a counter revolution, and the factious, which aims at the division of the empire and destruction of all authority, and perhaps of the lives of the reigning branch; both of which parties are fomenting troubles.

"After I have confessed all this, I will tell you with the same candor, that we have made an admirable and almost incredible destruction of all abuses and prejudices; that every thing not directly useful to, or coming from, the people has been levelled; that, in the topographical, moral, and political situation of France, we have made more changes in ten months, than the most sanguine patriots could have imagined; that our internal troubles and anarchy are much exaggerated; and that, upon the whole, this revolution, in which nothing will be wanting but energy of government as it was in America, will implant liberty and make it flourish throughout the world; while we must wait for a convention in a few years to mend some defects, which are not now perceived by men just escaped from aristocracy and despotism.

"Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aid-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch." — *Paris, March 17th.*

The key of the Bastille, and the drawing here mentioned, are still preserved in the mansion-house at Mount Vernon.

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only channels for information, caused our fears of failure almost to exceed our expectations of success.

How much will those concerned be indebted to the exertions of the principal pilot, when the ship shall, at the end of her dangerous course, be securely harboured in the haven of national tranquillity, freedom, and glory, to which she is destined, and which she is near attaining.

Congress, after having been in session ever since last fall, are to adjourn in two or three days. Though they have been much perplexed in their proceedings on some questions of a local and intricate nature, yet they have done a great deal of important business, and will leave the public affairs in as satisfactory a state as could reasonably have been expected. One of the last acts of the executive has been the conclusion of a treaty of peace and friendship with the Creek nation of Indians, who have been considerably connected with the Spanish provinces, and hostile to the Georgia frontiers since the war with Great Britain. McGillivray and about thirty of the kings and head men are here. This event will leave us in peace from one end of our borders to the other; except where it may be interrupted by a small refugee banditti of Cherokees and Shawnees, who can be easily chastised, or even extirpated, if it shall become necessary. But this will only be done in an inevitable extremity; since the basis of our proceedings with the Indian nations has been, and shall be, *justice* during the period in which I have any thing to do with the administration of this government.

Our negotiations and transactions, though many of them are on a small scale as to the objects, ought to be governed by the immutable principles of equity, as much as your European politics, which are more extended in their compass. How your wars proceed in

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the north, or in whose favor they are likely to terminate, what probability there may be, that the misunderstandings between Britain and Spain will issue in an open rupture, and what other powerful nations, in that event, will be drawn in to take an active part on one side or the other, are subjects of vast magnitude, on which we, in these distant regions, must abstain from deciding positively, even in our own minds, until we shall have more unequivocal data to go upon. It seems to be our policy to keep in the situation, in which nature has placed us, to observe a strict neutrality, and to furnish others with those good things of subsistence, which they may want, and which our fertile land abundantly produces, if circumstances and events will permit us so to do.

This letter is committed to Colonel Humphreys to carry to London, whither he is going. Should he by any accident be in France, he will be able to give you a full state of our affairs and prospects. Gradually recovering from the distresses in which the war left us, patiently advancing in our task of civil government, unentangled in the crooked politics of Europe, wanting scarcely any thing but the free navigation of the Mississippi (which we must have, and as certainly shall have as we remain a nation), I have supposed, that, with the undeviating exercise of a just, steady, and prudent national policy, we shall be the gainers, whether the powers of the old world may be in peace or war, but more especially in the latter case. In that case, our importance will certainly increase, and our friendship be courted. Our dispositions will not be indifferent to Britain or Spain. Why will not Spain be wise and liberal at once? It would be easy to annihilate all causes of quarrels between that nation and the United States at this time. At a future period, that may be

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far from being a fact. Should a war take place between Great Britain and Spain, I conceive, from a great variety of concurring circumstances, there is the highest probability that the Floridas will soon be in the possession of the former. Adieu, my dear Marquis. . Believe me to be assuredly and affectionately your friend, &c.

P. S. Not for the value of the thing, my dear Marquis, but as a memorial, and because they are the manufacture of this city, I send you herewith a pair of shoe-buckles.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

New York, 13 August, 1790

SIR,

The session of Congress having closed, and it being my intention to go to Virginia as soon as the public business will permit, and wishing, during my absence from the seat of government, to have my mind as free from public cares as circumstances will allow, I am desirous of having such matters as may, by law or otherwise, require the agency or sanction of the President of the United States, brought to view before my departure. I therefore request, that you will cause such business, within your department, as must necessarily receive the aid or approbation of the President, to be submitted to me, as soon as its nature will permit; particularly regulations for trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, agreeably to the act; and information and opinions on the following points, namely;

Whether any other and what steps shall be taken with them to restrain their hostilities.

Whether the orders given, and measures adopted,

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are adequate to the peace of the western frontiers. If not, what further is to be done for this purpose?

Upon the expediency and policy of a proclamation forbidding encroachments upon the territory of the Indians, or treating with them contrary to the law lately passed. Instructions for the governor of the ceded territory south of Ohio. Where ought the governor to reside? What notice should be taken of the insult offered to Major Doughty? What steps should be taken with respect to his recommendation of a post at the mouth of the Tennessee?

Other measures than those pursued by the present contractors for supplying western posts ought to be adopted, that the troops in that country may be more efficiently employed in sudden emergencies, and the posts better secured. Have any orders been given concerning the condemned soldiers? I am, Sir, &c.*

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, FOR THE TIME BEING.

Having thought fit to commit to you the charge of borrowing, on behalf of the United States, a sum or sums not exceeding in the whole fourteen millions of dollars, pursuant to the several Acts; the one entitled, "An Act making provision for the debt of the United States;" the other entitled, "An Act making provision for the reduction of the public debt;"

* The day after the above letter was written, the President left New York to make a visit to Rhode Island. When on his tour to the eastern States he did not pass through Rhode Island, because that State had not then acceded to the Union. The recent occurrence of this event was the cause of his visit on the present occasion. He went by water to Newport, where he arrived on the 16th. He proceeded also to Providence. Everywhere he was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants. He eturned to New York after an absence of ten days.

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I do hereby make known to you, that in the execution of the said trust, you are to observe and follow the orders and directions following. (Except where, otherwise especially directed by me, you shall employ an agent in the negotiation of any loan or loans, which may be made in any foreign country.)

You shall borrow, or cause to be borrowed, on the best terms which shall be found practicable, and within the limitations prescribed by law, as to time of repayment and rate of interest, such sum or sums as shall be sufficient to discharge, as well all instalments or parts of the principal of the foreign debt, which now are due or shall become payable to the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, as all interest and arrears of interest, which now are or shall become due in respect to the said debt, to the same end of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one; and you shall apply, or cause to be applied, the moneys which shall be so borrowed, with all convenient despatch, to the payment of the said instalments, and parts of the principal and interest and arrears of the interest of the said debt. You shall not extend the amount of the loan, which you shall make or cause to be made, beyond the sum which shall be necessary for completing such payment, unless it can be done upon terms more advantageous to the United States than those upon which the residue of the said debt shall stand or be. But if the said residue or any part of the same can be paid off by new loans upon terms of advantage to the United States, you shall cause such further loans, as may be requisite to that end, to be made, and the proceeds thereof to be applied accordingly. And, for carrying into effect the objects and purposes aforesaid, I do hereby further empower you to make, or cause to be made, with whomsoever

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it may concern, such contract or contracts, being of a nature relative thereto, as shall be found needful and conducive to the interest of the United States.

If any negotiation with any prince or state, to whom any part of the said debt may be due, should be requisite, the same shall be carried on through the person, who in capacity of minister, *chargé d'affaires*, or otherwise, now is, or hereafter shall be, charged with transacting the affairs of the United States with such prince or state; for which purpose I shall direct the secretary of state, with whom you are in this behalf to consult and concert, to coöperate with you.

Given under my hand at the city of New York, this 28th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1790.

Commission.

By virtue of the several Acts, the one entitled, "An Act making provision for the debt of the United States," and the other entitled, "An Act making provision for the reduction of the public debt," I do hereby authorize and empower you, by yourself or any other person or persons, to borrow on behalf of the United States, within the said States or elsewhere, a sum or sums, not exceeding in the whole fourteen millions of dollars, and to make, or cause to be made, for that purpose, such contract, or contracts, as shall be necessary, and for the interest of the said States; subject to the restrictions and limitations in the said several Acts contained. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the city of New York, this 28th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1790.*

* Circumstances at this time rendered it probable, that Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, intended to send an expedition from Detroit

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TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 20 September, 1790.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 8th instant, together with its enclosures.

An outrage, similar to that stated in Governor Tellfair's proclamation, was some time since committed on two Indians of the Seneca tribe; the representation of which being before the Supreme Executive Council of

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to act against the Spaniards in Louisiana. On the 27th of August the President communicated the following statement and queries to the several members of the cabinet, and to the Vice-President and Chief Justice.

"Provided the dispute between Great Britain and Spain should come to the decision of arms, from a variety of circumstances (individually unimportant and inconclusive, but very much the reverse when compared and combined), there is no doubt in my mind, that New Orleans, and the Spanish posts above it on the Mississippi, will be among the first attempts of the former, and that the reduction of them will be undertaken by a combined operation from Detroit.

"The *consequences* of having so formidable and enterprising a people as the British on both our flanks and rear, with their navy in front, as they respect our western settlements, which may be reduced thereby, and as they regard the security of the Union and its commerce with the West Indies, are too obvious to need enumeration.

"What then should be the answers of the Executive of the United States to Lord Dorchester, in case he should apply for permission to march troops through the territory of the said States from Detroit to the Mississippi?

"What notice ought to be taken of the measure, if it should be undertaken without leave, which is the most probable proceeding of the two?"

Elaborate answers in writing were returned to these queries. A difference of opinion prevailed in regard to them both. On one side it was advised, that permission to march troops through the territory should be pointedly refused, and, if persisted in afterwards, that a remonstrance should be made to the court of Great Britain. On the other side it was recommended to grant the request; but, if the march should be attempted without leave, and after prohibition, that it should be "opposed and prevented at every risk and hazard." The principles of national law and the practice of nations were discussed, and brought to bear on the point; but, as the supposed case never occurred, there was no occasion for further action upon it.

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Pennsylvania when I arrived in Philadelphia, the papers thereon were laid before them.

Finding an interference on the part of the general government essential to prevent the threatened hostility, I appointed Colonel Pickering, on the part of the United States, to meet the chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation, for the purpose of assuring them that the outrage complained of was not only unauthorized on the part of the government, but a flagrant violation of its laws, for which the offenders, when taken (and a reward was offered for apprehending them), would be brought to condign punishment; and likewise to offer a compensation to the relatives of the deceased.

I have reason to hope, that the measures taken to prevent further mischief, and to satisfy the Seneca tribe, will prove successful. Your opinion on the relative rank of the regular and militia officers, as communicated to Governor Tellfair, accords with the usage of the army, and meets my approbation.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 20 September, 1790.

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 10th instant, relative to the establishment of the boats or cutters for the protection of the revenue, I have to observe, that, if there appears to exist a necessity for equipping the whole number therein mentioned, the arrangement for building and stationing them seems judicious, and is to me perfectly satisfactory.

It is my wish, that your inquiries, respecting proper

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characters to command these vessels, may be extended to the States south of Virginia. Mr. Lear can furnish you with the list of applications already made. Two persons, with nearly equal recommendations, have offered themselves from Philadelphia, Captains Montgomery and Roach. There are several respectable names subscribed in favor of each of these persons; some of them, I believe, in favor of both; such is the facility with which, on certain occasions, recommendations are granted. It would seem, however, that they are both qualified; but, in favor of the former, it is stated that he now fills a subordinate station in the revenue, which he accepted with a view of being brought into notice when such an appointment, as that which he now solicits, should be made.

Captain Barney was not at Baltimore when I passed through the city, nor could I learn with certainty whether he wished to receive the appointment or not. But I was informed, that he had written in answer to an intimation made to him by you or one of his friends on the subject, whence I suppose his wish may be collected.

There is a Mr. Richard Taylor of this State, an applicant for one of the appointments, who, from my knowledge of him, appears to be a proper person, both as to character and experience in the profession.

Remarking to you, that the advantage, which might accrue from their superintendence, seems to suggest the propriety of nominating the commanders before the vessels are put on the stocks, you have my permission to carry the arrangement for building the boats or cutters, stated in your letter, into immediate effect, to such extent as in your judgment shall seem necessary for the public service. I am, Sir, &c.

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 10 October, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 30th ultimo came duly to hand with its enclosures. For the information contained in it I thank you. The motives, however, by which the author of the communication to you was actuated, although they *may* have been pure, and in that case praiseworthy, do also (but it may be uncharitable to harbour the suspicion) admit of a different interpretation, and by an easy and pretty direct clue may be developed.*

We are approaching the first Monday in December by hasty strides. I pray you, therefore, to revolve in your mind such matters as may be proper for me to lay before Congress, not only in your own department, if any there be, but such others of a general nature, as may happen to occur to you, that I may be prepared to open the session with such communications, as shall appear to merit attention.† With sincere regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

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* The reference here is to a conversation, which Mr. Hamilton had held with "a certain gentleman," as detailed in his letter of September 30th. See APPENDIX, No. VIII.

In reply to the above paragraph Mr. Hamilton said; "It is certainly very possible, that motives, different from the one avowed, may have produced a certain communication; and in matters of such a nature it is not only allowable, but the dictate of prudence, to receive suggestions with peculiar caution." — *October 17th.*

† *From Mr. Hamilton's Reply.* — "The subject suggested in your letter, as preparatory to the meeting of the legislature, shall engage my particular attention. The papers of the departments of state and the treasury, and of the commissioners for settling accounts, are on their way to Philadelphia. On the 20th I propose with my family to set out for the same place."

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TO COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

Mount Vernon, 1 November, 1790.

SIR,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letters of the 11th of May and 12th of July last, together with the flattering mark of your and Madame de Brehan's regard, which accompanied the former;* for which, and the obliging satisfaction you express on the restoration of my health, I beg you and her to accept my grateful acknowledgments.

A short relaxation from public business, and an indulgence in the pleasures of a country life during the recess of Congress, have greatly contributed to improve my health, which is now, thank God, perfectly reëstablished. From the interest you take in the prosperity of the United States, you will learn with pleasure, that their happiness continues to advance, and that there is great reason to conclude it will be lasting. The wisdom and integrity, manifested in the measures of Congress, have secured to them the confidence of their constituents, and the respect of our domestic neighbours; with the most considerable of whom, treaties, dictated by justice and national generosity, have been concluded, and will, in all probability, be faithfully maintained. The aggregate happiness of society, which is best promoted by the practice of a virtuous policy, is, or ought to be, the end of all government. Such, I am happy in telling you, appears to be the object of our legislative regulations; and such, I am confident in anticipating, will be the result to that generous nation of which you are a citizen.

* Madame de Brehan had taken a portrait of General Washington while she was in the United States. It was engraved in Paris, and several proof impressions accompanied Count de Moustier's letter.

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Their character, in all its relations, entitles them to prosperity and honor; and the issue of their present endeavours will, I fervently hope, justify the expectation of public and individual happiness.

I am, with respect, Sir, &c.*

* In his letter of the 12th of July from Paris, Count de Moustier wrote as follows.

"The second year of my stay in the United States furnished me with particular motives of esteem for the principles, which there predominate. The example offered at this day by my country proves, that, when we wander from these principles, we plunge deeper and deeper into a dangerous labyrinth; a mixture of the love of celebrity, of taste for novelty, of want of reflection, of cupidity, has bewildered many minds. France is at this day in complete anarchy. Meanwhile we are preparing with intoxication for a festivity, which ought to be the symbol of reunion of all the citizens.

"How much is the lot of humanity to be lamented, when we see that the most honest people become dangerous to it by chimerical ideas of perfection. It is indubitable, that, if moderation and justice had directed the principal movers and chiefs of the revolution of France, this fine kingdom would now be in a more flourishing situation than it has ever been. Cruel excesses have been committed, the consequences of which are incalculable. There are very few men worthy of true liberty, which cannot exist without virtue and respect for the laws, especially those which protect property. Philosophy supplies at this day new masks to ambition and intrigue.

"It is painful to a good citizen to behold his country serving as a lesson to nations, while she might have furnished them with an example. Circumstances have removed me from taking an active part in public affairs. I dare not judge those, who are in a different situation. I wait the developement. It is a great task to endeavour to remedy evils, which no time has been allowed for examining, and by means which no experience has confirmed. Who can better than you, Sir, pronounce on the difficulty of the art of governing? But who better than you can indicate the means of rendering the difficulty less sensible? The means doubtless cannot be the same everywhere; but everywhere justice, order, moderation, and generosity ought to serve as a basis to secondary means, which circumstances, times, and places make different."

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TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 2 November, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I am a little surprised, that we have not heard (so long after the time appointed for the rendezvous) of the issue, the progress, or the commencement of the expedition against the Wabash Indians under the conduct of Brigadier-General Harmar. This, in my opinion, is an undertaking of a very serious nature. I am not a little anxious to know the result of it, and therefore request, if any official or other accounts have been received by you relating thereto, that you will forward them to this place; provided they can reach it before Monday the 22d instant, on which day I expect to leave home for Philadelphia.

This matter, favorable or otherwise in the issue, will require to be laid before Congress, that the motives which induced the expedition may appear; and, as circumstances may not allow time for a complete statement of facts after my arrival, I request it may meet your earliest attention, that I may be prepared at the opening of the session to make the communication. With sincere regard and friendship, I am, &c.

TO TOBIAS LEAR.

Mount Vernon, 14 November, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I am, I must confess, exceedingly unwilling to go into any house without first knowing on what terms I do it, and wish that this sentiment could be again hinted, in delicate terms, to the parties concerned with me. I cannot, if there are no latent motives which

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govern in this case, see any difficulty in the business.* Mr. Morris has most assuredly formed an idea of what ought, in equity, to be the rent of the tenement in the condition he left it; and with this aid the committee ought, I conceive, to be as little at a loss in determining what it should rent for, with the additions and alterations, which are about to be made, and which ought to be done in a plain and neat, not by any means in an extravagant style; because the latter is not only contrary to my wish, but would really be detrimental to my interest and convenience, principally because it would be the means of keeping me out of the use and comforts of the house to a late period, and because the furniture, and every thing else, would require to be accordant therewith; besides making me pay an extravagant price, perhaps to accommodate the alterations to the taste of another, or to the exorbitant rates of workmen.

I do not know, nor do I believe, that any thing unfair is intended by either Mr. Morris or the committee; but let us for a moment suppose, that the rooms (the new ones I mean) were to be hung with tapestry, or a very rich and costly paper, neither of which would suit my present furniture; that costly ornaments for the bow-windows, extravagant chimney-pieces, and the like, were to be provided; that workmen, from extravagance of the times, for every twenty shillings' worth of work would charge forty shillings; and that advantage should be taken of the occasion to new paint every part of the house and buildings; would there be any propriety in adding ten or twelve

* Relating to a house in Philadelphia, belonging to Mr. Morris, which was fitting up for the residence of the President, when Congress should remove to that place. Mr. Lear was in Philadelphia making preparation for the President's arrival and accommodation.

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and a half per cent for all this to the rent of the house in its original state for the two years that I am to hold it? If the solution of these questions is in the negative, wherein lies the difficulty of determining, that the houses and lots when finished according to the proposed plan ought to rent for so much? When all is done that can be done, the residence will not be so commodious as the house I left in New York; for there (and the want of it will be found a real inconvenience at Mr. Morris's) my office was in a front room below, where persons on business were at once admitted; whereas now they will have to ascend two pair of stairs, and to pass by the public rooms to go to it. Notwithstanding which, I am willing to allow as much as was paid to Mr. Macomb, and shall say nothing if more is demanded, unless there is apparent extortion, or the policy of delay is to see to what height rents will rise before mine is fixed. In either of these cases I should not be pleased; and to occupy the premises at the expense of any public body, I will not.

I had rather have heard, that my repaired coach was plain and elegant, than rich and elegant.

I am, dear Sir, &c,

TO GEORGE CLINTON, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

Private.

Philadelphia, 1 December, 1790.*

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 26th ultimo came to my hands last night. If the information of Captain Brant be true,

* Congress had adjourned on the 12th of August, to meet in Philadelphia on the first Monday in December. They assembled accordingly

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the issue of the expedition against the Indians will indeed prove unfortunate and disgraceful to the troops, who suffered themselves to be ambuscaded.

The relation of this event carries with it, I must confess, the complexion of truth; yet I will suspend my opinion until I hear something more of the matter. The force, which was employed against the hostile Indians, or the drawing out of which was authorized, ought not to have regarded a thousand of them, because it was calculated for, and undertaken under the expectation of, meeting a larger number, if blows were to terminate the dispute.

It gives me pleasure to learn from you the friendly sentiments of Captain Brant; and with you I think they merit cultivation; but he has not been candid in his account of the conduct of General St. Clair, nor done justice in his representation of matters at Muskingum. It is notorious, that he used all the art and influence, of which he was possessed, to prevent any treaty being held; and that, except in a small degree, General St. Clair aimed at no more land by the treaty of Muskingum, than had been ceded by the preceding treaties. With sentiments of very great regard and friendship, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO GEORGE S. WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 5 December, 1790.

DEAR GEORGE,

Agreeably to the promise, which I gave to you in Virginia, I have made the necessary inquiries respect-

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at the time appointed, and Philadelphia was from that date the place of Washington's residence till he ceased to be President of the United States.

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ing the course of studies and expenses, which would enable you and your brother Lawrence to finish your education at the college in this place, provided you are masters of those books and studies, which you informed me you had passed through.

The enclosed account of studies and expenses, which I wish you to return to me, you will see is under the hand of the Reverend Dr. Smith, provost of the college, and may therefore be relied on for its accuracy. After you and Lawrence have carefully perused and well considered the enclosed statement, I wish you to determine whether you will come or not. If your determination should be in favor of coming on, I must impress this upon you both in the strongest manner, namely, that you come with good dispositions, and full resolution to pursue your studies closely, to conform to the established rules and customs of the college, and to conduct yourselves on all occasions with decency and propriety.

To you, George, I would more particularly address myself at this time, as from your advanced age it may be presumed, that such advice, as I am about to give, will make a deeper impression upon you, than upon your brother, and your conduct may very probably mark the line of his; but, at the same time, Lawrence must remember, that this is equally applicable to him.

Should you enter upon the course of studies here marked out, you must consider it as the finishing of your education, and, therefore, as the time is limited, that every hour misspent is lost for ever, and that future *years* cannot compensate for lost *days* at this period of your life. This reflection must show the necessity of an unremitting application to your studies. To point out the importance of circumspection in your conduct, it may be proper to observe, that a good

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moral character is the first essential in a man, and that the habits contracted at your age are generally indelible, and your conduct here may stamp your character through life. It is therefore highly important, that you should endeavour not only to be learned, but virtuous. Much more might be said to show the necessity of application and regularity; but since you must know, that without them you can never be qualified to render service to your country, assistance to your friends, or enjoy consolation in your retired moments, nothing further need be said to prove their utility.

As to your clothing, it will, I presume, cost much the same here as in Alexandria. I shall always wish to see you clothed decently and becoming your stations; but I shall ever discountenance extravagance or foppishness in your dress. At all times, and upon all occasions, I shall be happy to give you both such marks of my approbation, as your progress and good conduct merit.

If you determine to come on, you had better do it immediately, and Major Washington will furnish you with such money as may be necessary for the stage and expenses from Alexandria to this place. But I must repeat what I have before enjoined, that you come with good dispositions and determined resolution to conform to establishments and pursue your studies.

Your aunt joins me in love to you both, and best wishes to Dr. Craik and family. I am, dear George, your sincere friend and affectionate uncle.

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TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, GOVERNOR OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY.

Private.

Philadelphia, 2 January, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

In the journals of the proceedings of the executive in the Northwestern Territory, there appear to be certain regulations made by the executive, under the articles of the 25th of April, 6th, 28th, and 29th of June last, which can with propriety only be established by laws.

In noticing these, my mind naturally recurred to your letter to me, dated at Cahokia on the 1st of May last, wherein you observe, that the absence of judges had embarrassed you a great deal, and that, after waiting for them as long as possible, you had been under the necessity of directing by proclamation certain regulations suited to the peculiar circumstances of the country. These you had no doubt would be confirmed by law, and the necessity of the case offered an excuse for having exceeded your proper powers.

The imperfect state in which the legislation of the Northwestern Territory is, the want which the executive has often felt of the necessary coadjutors to adopt even the most urgent laws, and the peculiar situation of a frontier country, are circumstances which may not strike every one, who will observe that the executive has gone beyond its proper powers. It therefore becomes a matter of high importance, that the utmost circumspection should be observed in the conduct of the executive; for there are not wanting persons, who would rejoice to find the slightest ground of clamor against public characters; and, paying no regard to

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the absolute necessity of the case, which caused a momentary stretch of power, or to the public good which might be produced by it, they would seize the occasion of making impressions unfavorable to government, and possibly productive of disagreeable effects.

I have therefore thought it best to give you this intimation in a private and friendly letter, that by circumspection malice itself may be disarmed. With the compliments of the season, and great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO WILLIAM WASHINGTON.*

Philadelphia, 8 January, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 7th of November, and I beg you will be assured that I have a proper sense of your polite invitation to reside with you while in Charleston, if I should pay a visit to the southern States in the ensuing year.

It is my intention to visit the southern States next spring, provided the new Congress should not meet immediately on the rising of the present, which will be on the 3d of March. If it should not be in my power to leave this place by the middle of that month, I must give up my tour for this season, as setting out at a later period would bring me into the southern States in the warm and sickly months, a circumstance which I would wish by all means to avoid. But, Sir, you will permit me to decline the acceptance of your polite invitation; for I cannot comply with it without

* Distinguished as a colonel of cavalry in the southern States during the war of the revolution.

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involving myself in an inconsistency; as I have determined to pursue the same plan in my southern as I did in my eastern visit, which was, not to incommode any private family by taking up my quarters with them during my journey. I am persuaded you will readily see the necessity of this resolution, both as it respects myself and others. It leaves me unembarrassed by engagements, and by a uniform adherence to it I shall avoid giving umbrage to any, by declining all such invitations.

The journey, in the manner I shall make it, would be too much for Mrs. Washington. She will not therefore accompany me, but joins in compliments to Mrs. Washington and yourself. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO BEVERLEY RANDOLPH, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Philadelphia, 13 January, 1791.

SIR,

The various and important business, which required my particular attention in the beginning of the present session of Congress, will, I presume, sufficiently apologize to your Excellency for this late acknowledgment of your letter of November last.

I have attentively considered the request, which your Excellency has made by desire of the legislature, that I would again open the business of establishing a woollen manufactory in Virginia; and it is with infinite regret, that I must decline any further agency in it, at least so far as relates to carrying on a correspondence with the person in Great Britain, who has proposed to establish the manufactory. I am persuaded, that your Excellency and the legislature

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will see, upon reflection, the impropriety of my appearing in this business, while I remain in my present situation; for I am told that it is felony to export the machines, which it is probable the artist contemplates to bring with him, and it certainly would not carry an aspect very favorable to the dignity of the United States, for the President in a clandestine manner to entice the subjects of another nation to violate its laws.

I have communicated the subject of your letter to the secretary of state and the attorney-general, who are both of the same sentiment which I have expressed, and for the reason mentioned.

I am however happy, that my agency is not absolutely necessary to the completion of this object; for the project has been announced to Virginia, and the original letter from the artist has been transmitted to your Excellency. This communicates every thing on the subject of which I am possessed, and leaves it with the State of Virginia to do whatever may be thought best in the affair.

Impressed as I am with the utility of such an establishment, I shall ever be ready to give it every aid that I can with propriety; and I am certain that your Excellency and the legislature will impute my conduct on this occasion to its true motive. With due consideration, I have the honor to be, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Philadelphia, 14 January, 1791.

SIR,

On as full a consideration of the last speech made to me by Cornplanter, Halftown, and Great-tree, chiefs

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of the Seneca nation, as my comprehension of their meaning enables me to give, I am led to the following conclusions, which, if there is any propriety in discussing their request, or yielding the land asked for, I wish you to consider as the basis of the communications to be made to these people.

In the first place, it appears to me, that Cornplanter and the other chiefs now in the city of Philadelphia do not constitute a representation of their nation; and to undo, or perhaps even to enter on the revision of treaties, which have been deliberately and formally concluded, except under circumstances of equal deliberation and form, would be to open a door to certain inconvenience, and probable difficulty, by encouraging applications, which the Indians would not fail to make to the United States; that it is a matter, which requires mature consideration, how far any assurances regarding the restoration of lands, which have been ceded by treaty to the United States, can be made without the participation of the Senate, and that no assurance should be given, which may involve a dispute with any individual State, respecting its claim to the land applied for; that they be informed, that no agent for Indian affairs will be authorized to dispose of their lands.

Not comprehending the precise meaning of the clause respecting children, I do not remark upon it.

In reply to the last clause of their speech, I have to observe, that such expense cannot be incurred. What is made will be for objects the most beneficial. The enclosed letter from Colonel Pickering contains some good ideas of improvement, and, if necessary, may be useful in framing the answer to Cornplanter, and the other Indians who are with him. I am, &c.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CORNPLANTER, HALFTOWN, AND GREAT-TREE, CHIEFS OF THE SENECA NATION OF INDIANS.

BROTHERS,

I have maturely considered your second written speech.

You say your nation complains, that, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, you were compelled to give up too much of your lands; that you confess your nation is bound by what was there done, and, acknowledging the power of the United States, that you have now appealed to ourselves against that treaty, as made while we were angry against you, and that the said treaty was therefore unreasonable and unjust.

But while you complain of the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, you seem entirely to forget that you yourselves, Cornplanter, Halftown, and Great-tree, with others of your nation, confirmed by the treaty of Fort Harmar upon the Muskingum, so late as the 9th of January, 1789, the boundaries marked at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and that in consequence thereof you then received goods to a considerable amount.

Although it is my sincere desire, in looking forward, to endeavour to promote your happiness by all just and humane arrangements, yet I cannot disannul treaties formed by the United States before my administration, especially as the boundaries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed by yourselves.

The lines fixed at Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar must therefore remain established.

But Halftown and others, who reside upon the land you desire may be relinquished, have not been disturbed in their possession, and I should hope, while they continue to demean themselves peaceably, and

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to manifest their friendly dispositions towards the people of the United States, that they will be suffered to remain where they are.

The agent, who will be appointed by the United States, will be your friend and protector. He will not be suffered to defraud you, nor to assist in defrauding you, of your lands, or of any other thing; as all his proceedings must be reported in writing, so as to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You mention your design of going to the Miami Indians, to endeavour to persuade them to peace. By this humane measure you will render those mistaken people a great service, and probably prevent their being swept off the face of the earth. The United States require only, that those people should demean themselves peaceably. But they may be assured, that the United States are able, and will most certainly punish them severely for all their robberies and murders.

You may, when you return from this city to your own country, mention to your nation my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough and raise so much corn; and if, upon consideration, it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn these arts, I will find some means of teaching them at such places within their country as shall be agreed upon.

I have nothing more to add, but to refer you to my former speech, and to repeat my wishes for the happiness of the Seneca nation.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this 19th day of January, 1791.

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TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 20 January, 1791.

SIR,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letters of the 8th and 15th of this month. I feel myself much obliged by the trouble you have taken, in the former, to detail your ideas with respect to introducing the art of husbandry and civilization among the Indians. I confess that your plan, or something like it, strikes me as the most probable means of effecting this desirable end; and I am fully of opinion with you, that the mode of education, which has hitherto been pursued with respect to those young Indians, who have been sent to our colleges, is not such as can be productive of any good to their nations. Reason might have shown it, and experience clearly proves it to have been the case. It is perhaps productive of evil. Humanity and good policy must make it the wish of every good citizen of the United States, that husbandry, and consequently civilization, should be introduced among the Indians. So strongly am I impressed with the beneficial effects, which our country would receive from such a thing, that I shall always take a singular pleasure in promoting, as far as may be in my power, every measure which may tend to ensure it.

I should have been very glad, if it had comported with your interest and inclination to superintend the northern Indians, as I am persuaded that nothing would have been wanting on your part to attach them to the United States, and to cultivate that spirit for civilization, which now begins to dawn among them.*

* *From Colonel Pickering's Letter.* — "General Knox informed me, that it would be agreeable to you that I should undertake the superintendency of the northern Indians; I mean particularly the Six Nations.

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Whoever undertakes this business must be actuated by more enlarged views, than his individual interest, or he can never accomplish the wished for end.

With very great regard, I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

Philadelphia, 27 January, 1791.

SIR,

I received with particular satisfaction, and imparted to Congress, the communication made by the President's letter of the 20th of June last, in the name of the National Assembly of France.* So peculiar and

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I answered, that, by the new constitution of Pennsylvania, a Continental appointment was declared to be incompatible with the appointments I held under the State; and I supposed the nature of such superintendency would not warrant any considerable emolument. In a subsequent conversation I intimated a willingness to perform the necessary services respecting the Six Nations, without any formal appointment; but this idea seems not to have been approved. Afterwards I found, that all the Indians north of the Ohio were already arranged under one department, of which General St. Clair was the superintendent, who, with your permission, might appoint a deputy. General Knox seemed to wish, that the matter might be suspended until the arrival of General St. Clair, who was daily expected. Since that time I have reflected on the subject, and, upon the whole, would beg leave to decline taking the superintendency proposed; though not without expressing the real pleasure I feel in the favorable sentiments you entertain concerning me, and assuring you of my readiness to perform any occasional services in that line, which your wishes for the public good may require." — *Philadelphia, January 15th.*

* A letter of condolence from the President of the National Assembly of France, occasioned by the death of Dr. Franklin. When the news of this event arrived in France, the National Assembly were sitting. The beautiful and eloquent address of Mirabeau to that body, respecting the death of Franklin, is well known. Lafayette told me at Lagrange, that this address was entirely an extemporaneous effusion. He said that on the morning after the intelligence reached Paris, while the members were assembling, he went to Mirabeau, and requested him

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so signal an expression of the esteem of that respectable body for a citizen of the United States, whose eminent and patriotic services are indelibly engraved on the minds of his countrymen, cannot fail to be appreciated by them as it ought to be. On my part I assure you, Sir, that I am sensible of all its value.

The circumstances, which, under the patronage of a monarch, who has proved himself to be the friend of the people over whom he reigns, have promised the blessings of liberty to the French nation, could not have been uninteresting to the free citizens of the United States; especially when they recollected the dispositions, which were manifested, by the individuals as well as by the government of that nation, towards their still recent exertions in support of their own rights.

It is with real pleasure, Sir, that I embrace the opportunity, now afforded me, of testifying through you to the National Assembly the sincere, cordial, and earn-

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to introduce a motion by some remarks pertinent to the occasion. As soon as the House was called to order, he rose, and spoke in such a manner as electrified all who were present. He then moved, that the National Assembly should wear mourning three days, as a testimony of respect for the memory of Benjamin Franklin. At the same moment Rochefoucault and Lafayette rose to second the motion. It was carried by acclamation; and it was likewise decreed, that a letter of condolence should be written to Congress. By a resolve of Congress, the President of the United States was requested to "communicate to the National Assembly of France the peculiar sensibility of Congress to the tribute paid to the memory of Benjamin Franklin by the enlightened and free representatives of a great nation."

Congress had previously passed the following joint resolution. "The House being informed of the decease of Benjamin Franklin, a citizen, whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country, do resolve, as a mark of the veneration due to his memory, that the members wear the customary badge of mourning for one month." — *Journal, April 22d*, 1790. See the letter from the National Assembly to President Washington in the APPENDIX, No. IX.

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est wish I entertain, that their labors may speedily issue in the firm establishment of a constitution, which, by wisely conciliating the indispensable principles of public order with the enjoyment and exercise of the essential rights of man, shall perpetuate the freedom and happiness of the people of France.

The impressions naturally produced by similarity of political sentiment are justly to be regarded as causes of national sympathy, calculated to confirm the amicable ties, which may otherwise subsist between nations. This reflection, independent of its more particular reference, must dispose every benevolent mind to unite in the wish, that a general diffusion of the true principles of liberty, assimilating as well as ameliorating the condition of mankind, and fostering the maxims of an ingenuous and virtuous policy, may tend to strengthen the fraternity of the human race, to assuage the jealousies and animosities of its various subdivisions, and to convince them more and more, that their true interest and felicity will best be promoted by mutual good will and universal harmony.

The friendship, to which the President alludes in the close of his letter, has caused me to perceive with particular pleasure that one, who had endeared himself to this country by an ardent zeal, and by useful efforts in the cause of liberty, has by the same titles acquired the confidence and affection of his own. May it ever be his chief aim to continue to be beloved, as one of her most virtuous and most faithful citizens.

I beg you to accept my acknowledgments for the sentiments in the same letter, which relate more particularly to myself, and at the same time to be assured of the most perfect consideration on the part of, &c.

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TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Philadelphia, 6 February, 1791.

DEAR GENERAL,

Acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 29th of December, and offering you my best thanks for the interest it expresses in my behalf, I beg you to be persuaded, that neither my late silence nor my present brevity is in any degree the consequence of diminished regard. Your friendship receives from me the same grateful and affectionate return, which I have ever made to it; but the multiplied duties of my public station allow me little or no leisure for the cultivation of private regards; and the necessity of a prior attention to those duties cannot fail, my dear Sir, to excuse me to you.

Having in all cases of application for appointment to office prescribed as an invariable rule to myself, the right of remaining to the last moment free and unengaged, I did not find myself at liberty, even in your regard, to deviate from that rule, which you will be so good as to assign as the reason why I did not answer your letter of last spring.

I have the best disposition to serve the person, whom you then recommended, and, in whatever may comport with circumstances and public propriety, I shall be happy to do so. At present I know not what offices may be created, and applicants multiply with every new office, and some of them come forward under such fair pretensions and pressing wants, that preference is difficult and painful to a degree. In a word, to a man, who has no ends to serve, nor friends to provide for, nomination to office is the most irksome part of the executive trust.

The concern which you take in my health, enhances

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the pleasure I have in assuring you, that it is now perfectly reëstablished. It will add greatly to my enjoyment to hear that yours is also improved.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS MARSHALL.

Philadelphia, 6 February, 1791.

SIR,

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 11th of September, I must beg you to accept my thanks for the pleasing communication it contains of the good disposition of the people of Kentucky towards the government of the United States.

I never doubted that the operations of this government, if not perverted by prejudice or evil designs, would inspire the citizens of America with such confidence in it, as effectually to do away those apprehensions, which, under the former confederation, our best men entertained of divisions among ourselves, or allurements from other nations. I am therefore happy to find, that such a disposition prevails in your part of the country, as to remove any idea of that evil, which a few years ago you so much dreaded.

I shall receive with great satisfaction and due thanks any information of a public or private nature, that you may think proper to communicate to me from your district. These communications will be the more grateful, as we seldom hear the particulars of any transactions from that quarter, and the intelligence often comes through such channels, as in a great measure to prevent confidence from being placed in it. With very great esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

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TO DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Philadelphia, 16 March, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

As this letter is wholly of a private nature, I refer you to Mr. Jefferson's official communications for every thing relative to your appointment at the court of Lisbon, and shall confine myself to acknowledging your two letters, and to such general observations as may occur in the course of my writing.

The desponding account of our public affairs, which you mention to have been transmitted to Europe by a person high in office here, is happily contradicted by facts too stubborn to be overturned; and, although it is to be regretted, that such gloomy relations should be given by a man, who, it may be supposed, is perfectly acquainted with our political situation, yet there is some pleasure in knowing, that his better half has asserted things quite contrary.*

The remarks of a foreign Count are such as do no credit to his judgment, and as little to his heart. They are the superficial observations of a few months' residence, and an insult to the inhabitants of a country, where he has received more attention and civility than he seems to merit.†

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* This relates only to a rumor, which had come to the ears of Colonel Humphreys, that the Vice-President had written to Europe despondingly of American affairs, but that letters from his wife were in a different tone.

† *From Colonel Humphreys' Letter.* — "The Count Andriani has written things monstrously absurd and ill-founded; such, in respect to their import, as follows. That the United States are divided into two factions, Mr. Jefferson and the northern States in favor of France, the southern States and New York in favor of Great Britain; that Congress had done nothing but quarrel about the seat of government, and that this circumstance was what probably gave you the air of anxiety, which he had remarked; that there was no man in Congress, but Mr. Madison, who

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It gives me pleasure to hear, that Mr. Paine is likely to succeed with his bridge, and Rumsey in his ingenious projects.*

Congress finished their session on the 3d of March, in the course of which they received and granted the applications of Kentucky and Vermont for admission into the Union; the former after August, 1792, and the latter immediately. They made provision for the interest on the national debt, by laying a higher duty than that which hitherto existed on spirituous liquors, imported or manufactured; they established a national bank; they passed a law for certain measures to be taken towards establishing a mint; and finished much other business of less importance, conducting on all occasions with great harmony and cordiality. In some few instances, particularly in passing the law for higher duties mentioned above, and more especially on the subject of the bank, the line between the southern and eastern interests appeared more strongly marked than could have been wished; the former against, and the latter in favor of, those measures. But the debates were conducted with temper and candor.

The convention between Spain and England seems once more to have composed the European powers, except the Empress and the Turks, and the Emperor

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argued in a gentlemanlike and solid manner, nor, in short, any man out of it in America but Colonel Hamilton, who possessed abilities; with a great deal about American parade and luxury, not worth repeating." — *London, October* 31*st*, 1790.

* Mr. Rumsey had invented machinery for propelling boats against the stream, which he had exhibited to General Washington. He had gone to Europe to seek encouragement for this and other inventions. Of Paine's bridge Colonel Humphreys said, "It is an arch of one hundred and fifteen feet on the upper side, and has the most beautifully light appearance I ever beheld. The truth of the principles, and the extent of the utility of the invention, are demonstrated." This bridge was constructed of iron. Mr. Rumsey was engaged in constructing a steamboat, but died suddenly in London.

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appears to have settled matters pretty thoroughly in his dominions. Of the state of things in France we can form no just idea, so various and contradictory are our accounts from thence; but we most devoutly wish a speedy and happy termination of the struggle, which has for some time past convulsed that kingdom.

Peace and tranquillity pervade the territory of the United States, except on the northwest side of the Ohio, where the frequent depredations of the Indians made it necessary to form an expedition against them last fall. But that has not been productive of the consequences, which were expected from it. The Indians still continue their hostilities, and measures are now taking to convince them, if they do not see the folly of their ways before they can be carried into effect, that the enmity of the United States is as much to be dreaded, as their friendship is to be desired. Our public credit is restored, our resources are increasing, and the general appearance of things at least equals the most sanguine expectation, that was formed of the effects of the present government.

I am about to set out to-morrow or next day on a tour through the southern States. I am under the necessity of commencing my journey with very bad roads, in order that I may take such advantage of the season as to leave the southern extremity before the travelling shall be rendered disagreeable, and perhaps dangerous by the heat. I expect to return to this city in the latter end of June, or early in July. Since the rising of Congress I have been, and shall be till my departure, very busily engaged in making such arrangements with the several departments as will enable me to be absent for several months, without interrupting public business; and if I have not said every thing in this letter that I intended, or that you might ex-

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pect, it must be imputed to the hurry of the moment. At any rate there is one thing I must not omit, which is to tell you, that I am very sincerely your affectionate friend.

TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.*

Philadelphia, 19 March, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

Renewing to you assurances of the most perfect esteem and affection, I desire to refer the interruptions, which our correspondence has lately sustained on my part, to causes which I am persuaded you will readily admit as excusable. To the fulfilment of public duties, too interesting to be neglected, and too multiplied to allow me much leisure, I am forced to sacrifice the wishes of friendship and the pleasures of private life. This reason to you, who suffer the same privations, will apologize for the abridgment of an intercourse, ever grateful to my feelings and conducive to my happiness.†

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* The abolition of the *Noblesse* in France, by a decree of the National Assembly, took place on the 19th of June, 1790. Afterwards the title of *Marquis* was dropped in Washington's letters to Lafayette.

† *From Lafayette's Letter, dated Paris, August 26th*, 1790. — "We are disturbed with revolts among the regiments; and, as I am constantly attacked on both sides by the aristocratic and the factious parties, I do not know to which of the two we owe these insurrections. Our safeguard against them is the National Guard. There are more than a million of armed citizens; among them patriotism reigns, and my influence with them is as great as if I had accepted the chief command. I have lately lost some of my favor with the mob, and displeased the frantic lovers of licentiousness, as I am bent on establishing a legal subordination. But the nation at large is very thankful to me for it. It is not out of the heads of the aristocrats to make a counter-revolution. Nay, they do what they can with all the crowned heads of Europe, who hate us. But I think their plans will be either abandoned or unsuccessful. I am rather more concerned at a division that rages in the

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The tender concern, which you express on my late illness, awakens emotions, which words will not explain, and to which your own sensibility can best do justice. My health is now quite restored, and I flatter myself with the hope of a long exemption from sickness. On Monday next I shall enter on the practice of your friendly prescription of exercise, intending at that time to begin a journey to the southward, during which I propose visiting all the southern States.

Our country, my dear Sir, (and it is truly *yours*) is fast advancing in its political importance and social happiness. The last session of Congress has been occupied in additional arrangements of finance, to establish the public credit, and provide for the expenditures of government. A small increase of our military establishment has also been judged necessary to reclaim, if possible, and to chastise, if required, the irregularities of some Indian tribes on the western waters. Your friend, General St. Clair, resumes his functions as major-general.

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popular party. The club of the Jacobins, and that of '89, [afterwards the *Feuillants*,] as it is called, have divided the friends of liberty, who accuse each other; the Jacobins being taxed with a disorderly extravagance, and '89 with a tincture of ministerialism and ambition. I am endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation. The affair of the 6th of October will be reported in the House next week. I do not think there will be against the Duke of Orleans sufficient charges to impeach him, and am sure there are not against Mirabeau. There is something cloudy in the present system of those two men, although they do not seem actually connected.

"I hope our business will end with the year; at which time this so much blackened, this ambitious dictator, your friend, will most deliciously enjoy the happiness of giving up all power, all political cares, and of becoming a private citizen in a free monarchy, the constitution of which, although I could not help its being defective now, will lay a foundation for the most excellent one to be made in a few years. The people begin to be a little tired with the revolution and the Assembly. The first is to be ascribed to the French temper and numberless private losses; the second is owing to the faults of the Assembly, and the intrigues and ambition of most of its leaders; but we have got wind enough to run the ship into harbour."

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The laws of the United States, adapted to the public exigencies, are framed with wisdom and moderation, and acquiesced in with cheerfulness. The administration of them, aided by the affectionate partiality of my countrymen, is attended with no unnecessary inconvenience, and every circumstance is auspicious to the felicity of your fellow-citizens in this section of the globe. They are not less so, I devoutly hope, in that country which is more immediately the object of your patriotic attentions.

The distance, which separates us, joined to the delicacy of the subject, has always suspended my opinion on your national affairs. I am well aware, that it is impossible to judge with precision of measures, the motives of which are sometimes unknown, and the necessity of them not always understood; but there is one circumstance on which I find it difficult to suppress an anxious wish; that the present National Assembly may not protract their own existence so long, as to beget any uneasiness on that score. The confirmation of their decrees will be best made by a second representation of the people; and that representation, to act efficiently as a legislative body, may possibly be required to be reorganized. My affection for the French nation, my sincere wish that their government may be respectable and the people happy, will excuse the disclosure of this sentiment, the only one, I believe, that I have ventured to offer on the subject of the revolution.

Like you, my dear Sir, I sighed for retirement; like me, I am afraid you must continue the sacrifice. I have obeyed your request in communicating your remembrance to the friends mentioned in your letter of the 26th of August. Mrs. Washington joins me in respectful compliments to Madame de Lafayette, and

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I entreat you to be assured of the inviolable respect and esteem with which I am, my dear Sir, &c.

P. S. Your old aid-de-camp, George Augustine Washington, has another son, to whom he has given your name.*

TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

GREAT AND MAGNANIMOUS FRIEND,

Separated by an immense ocean from the more ancient nations of the earth, and little connected with their politics or proceedings, we are late in learning the events which take place among them, and later in conveying to them our sentiments thereon.

The death of the late Emperor, your father and our friend, of glorious memory, is one of those events, which, though distant, attracts our notice and concern. Receive, great and good friend, my sincere sympathy with you on that loss; and permit me, at the same time, to express the satisfaction with which I learn the accession of so worthy a successor to the imperial throne of Morocco, and to offer you the homage of my sincere congratulations. May the days of your Majesty's life be many and glorious, and may they ever mark the era during which a great people shall

* According to the intimation given in this letter, the President commenced his tour through the southern States. He proceeded by way of Richmond, Wilmington, and Charleston as far south as Savannah; thence to Augusta and Columbia, and returned through the interior of North Carolina and Virginia. He had previously ascertained with great precision the distances from each other of the several posts at which he intended to stop, and fixed the day he should arrive at each, and the time he should stay in the respective cities and towns. The tour was accomplished with remarkable exactness in conformity with the details of his plan.

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have been most prosperous and happy, under the best and happiest of sovereigns.

The late Emperor, very soon after the establishment of our infant nation, manifested his royal regard and amity to us by many friendly and generous acts, and particularly by the protection of our citizens in their commerce with his subjects. And as a further instance of his desire to promote our prosperity and intercourse with his realms, he entered into a treaty of amity and commerce with us, for himself and his successors, to continue fifty years. The justice and magnanimity of your Majesty leave us full confidence, that the treaty will meet your royal patronage also; and it will give me great satisfaction to be assured, that the citizens of the United States of America may expect from your Imperial Majesty the same protection and kindness, which the example of your illustrious father has taught them to expect from those who occupy the throne of Morocco, and to have your royal word, that they may count on a due observance of the treaty, which cements the two nations in friendship.

This will be delivered to your Majesty by our faithful citizen, Thomas Barclay, whom I name Consul for these United States in the dominions of your Majesty, and who, to the integrity and knowledge qualifying him for that office, unites the peculiar advantage of having been the agent, through whom our treaty with the late Emperor was received. I pray your Majesty to protect him in the exercise of his functions for the patronage of the commerce between our two countries, and of those who carry it on.

May that God, whom we both adore, bless your Imperial Majesty with long life, health, and success, and have you always, great and magnanimous friend, under his holy keeping.

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Written at Philadelphia, the 31st day of March, in the fifteenth year of our sovereignty and independence, from your good and faithful friend, &c.*

TO CHARLES PINCKNEY, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Georgetown, Maryland, 29 March, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving your Excellency's obliging letter of the 8th instant last evening. I am thus far on my tour through the southern States; but, as I travel with only one set of horses, and must make occasional halts, the progress of my journey is exposed to such uncertainty as admits not of fixing a day for my arrival at Charleston.

While I express the grateful sense, which I entertain of your Excellency's polite offer to accommodate me at your house during my stay in Charleston, your goodness will permit me to deny myself that pleasure. Having, with a view to avoid giving inconvenience to private families, early prescribed to myself the rule of declining all invitations to quarters on my journeys, I have been repeatedly under a necessity similar to the present, of refusing those offers of hospitality, which would otherwise have been both pleasing and acceptable.

I beg your Excellency to be persuaded of the sincere esteem and regard with which I am, dear Sir, your affectionate and obedient servant.

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* This letter is not found in the letter-books, and there is room for doubt in regard to the date. On the "31st of March," the President was at Mount Vernon, although this letter is dated at Philadelphia. It is here printed as contained in JEFFERSON'S *Writings*, Vol. III. p. 110.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 31 March, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

Having been so fortunate as to reconcile the contending interests of Georgetown and Carrollsburg, and to unite them in such an agreement as permits the public purposes to be carried into effect on an extensive and proper scale, I have the pleasure to transmit to you the enclosed proclamation, which, after annexing the seal of the United States, and your countersignature, you will cause to be published.

The terms entered into by me, on the part of the United States, with the landholders of Georgetown and Carrollsburg are, that all the land from Rock Creek along the river to the Eastern Branch, and so upwards to or above the Ferry, including a breadth of about a mile and a half, the whole containing from three to five thousand acres, is ceded to the public on condition, that, when the whole shall be surveyed and laid off as a city (which Major L'Enfant is now directed to do), the present proprietors shall retain every other lot; and for such part of the land as may be taken for public use, for squares, walks, &c., they shall be allowed at the rate of twenty-five pounds per acre, the public having the right to reserve such parts of the wood on the land, as may be thought necessary to be preserved for ornament; the landholders to have the use and profits of all the grounds until the city is laid off into lots, and sale is made of those lots, which, by this agreement, become public property. Nothing is to be allowed for the ground, which may be occupied as streets or alleys.

To these considerations all the principal landholders, except the purchaser of Slater's property, who was

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not present, have subscribed; and it is not doubted, that the few, who were not present, will readily come into the measure, even the obstinate Mr. Burns.

The enlarged plan of this agreement having done away the necessity, and indeed postponed the propriety, of designating the particular spot on which the public buildings should be placed, until an accurate survey and subdivision of the whole ground is made, I have left out that paragraph of the proclamation.

It was found on running the lines, that the comprehension of Bladensburg within the district must have occasioned the exclusion of more important objects; and of this I am convinced, as well by my own observation, as by Mr. Ellicott's opinion. With great regard and esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

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* The following is a copy of the proclamation alluded to in the above letter.

PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS, by a proclamation bearing date the 24th day of January, of this present year, and in pursuance of certain acts of the States of Maryland and Virginia, and of the Congress of the United States therein mentioned, certain lines of experiment were directed to be run in the neighbourhood of Georgetown in Maryland, for the purpose of determining the location of a part of the territory of ten miles square for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, and a certain part was directed to be located within the said lines of experiment on both sides of the Potomac, and above the limit of the Eastern Branch prescribed by the said act of Congress;

"And Congress, by an amendatory act passed on the 3d day of the present month of March, have given further authority to the President of the United States to make any part of the territory below the said limit, and above the mouth of Hunting Creek, a part of the said district, so as to include a convenient part of the Eastern Branch, and of the lands lying on the lower side thereof, and also the town of Alexandria;

"Now, therefore, for the purpose of amending and completing the location of the whole of the said territory of ten miles square, in conformity with the said amendatory act of Congress, I do hereby declare and make known, that the whole of the said territory shall be located and included within the four lines following, that is to say,

"Beginning at Jones's Point, being the upper cape of Hunting Creek

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TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 1 April, 1791.

SIR,

Your letter of the 27th ultimo was received last evening. Your proceeding upon the intelligence therein contained, which I think truly alarming, meets my entire approbation, and appears to promise as good effects as the limited sphere of action, allotted to the general government in cases so deeply affecting its dignity and the happiness of the citizens, will allow.*

Should you suppose additional instructions to General St. Clair, or any other measures within the reach of propriety, may have a tendency to appease the friends of the murdered Indians, I wish you to confer with the

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in Virginia, and at an angle in the outset of forty-five degrees west of the north, and running in a direct line ten miles, for the first line; then beginning again at the same Jones's Point, and running another direct line at a right angle with the first across the Potomac, ten miles, for the second line; then, from the termination of the said first and second lines, running two other direct lines of ten miles each, the one crossing the Eastern Branch aforesaid, and the other the Potomac, and meeting each other in a point.

"And I do accordingly direct the commissioners, named under the authority of the said first-mentioned act of Congress, to proceed forthwith to have the said four lines run, and by proper metes and bounds defined and limited, and thereof to make due report under their hands and seals; and the territory, so to be located, defined, and limited, shall be the whole territory accepted by the said acts of Congress, as the district for the permanent seat of the government of the United States.

"In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at Georgetown aforesaid, the 30th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety one, and of the independence of the United States the fifteenth.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

* A murder had been committed upon a family of Indians within the limits of Pennsylvania, by a person residing in Virginia. The Secretary of War proposed to transmit an account of the same to the Governor of Pennsylvania, with a request that he would demand the criminal of the Governor of Virginia, and have him tried by the Pennsylvania laws.

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heads of departments, and to carry into immediate effect the result of your deliberations.

The letters, which have already been written to you, on the subject of officering the Maryland and Virginia battalions of levies, will show the difficulties of Colonel Lee's declining, and the necessity of exertion to repair the delay which it must occasion.

I shall endeavour to obtain information of some officers for the Virginia battalion; but it will not be possible for me to act upon it until I learn what may be determined between you and Colonel Hall. Indeed it is my wish, as it regards despatch, that your determination may render any future interference on my part unnecessary.

To prevent clashing in the measures we may adopt to officer the battalion of this State, if any thing satisfactory results from my inquiry, I will give immediate information of it. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 1 April, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 27th ultimo, with the papers which accompanied it. Referring to your judgment, whether a commission similar to that intended for Mr. Barclay* may be given without the agency of the Senate, I return both papers to you signed, in order that the one you deem most proper may be used.

Your opinions respecting the acts of force, which have already taken place, or may yet take place, on

* Going on a mission to Morocco.

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our boundaries, meet my concurrence as the safest mode of compelling propositions for an amicable settlement; and it may answer a good purpose to have them suggested in the way you mention. Should this matter assume a serious aspect during my absence, I beg you to communicate particulars with all possible despatch.*

The most superb edifices may be erected, and I shall wish their inhabitants much happiness, and that too very disinterestedly, as I shall never be of the number myself.†

It will be fortunate for the American public, if private speculations in the lands still claimed by the aborigines do not aggravate those differences, which policy, humanity, and justice concur to deprecate.‡

I am much indebted to your kind concern for my safety in travelling. No accident has yet happened, either from the high hanging of the carriage, or the mode of driving. The latter I must continue, as my

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* Difficulties had arisen among the settlers on the northwestern boundary. It was reported, that acts of force had been committed. "The impossibility," said Mr. Jefferson, "of bringing the court of London to an adjustment of any differences whatever, renders our situation perplexing. Should any applications from the States, or their citizens, be so urgent as to require something to be said before your return, my opinion would be, that they should be desired to make no new settlements on our part, nor suffer any to be made on the part of the British, within the disaffected territory; and, if any attempts should be made to remove them from the settlements already made, that they are to repel force by force, and ask aid of the neighbouring militia to do this and no more. I see no other safe way of forcing the British government to come forward themselves, and demand an amicable settlement." — *March 27th.*

† A bill had been ordered to be brought into the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania for granting money to build a Federal Hall and President's House.

‡ Alluding to the large purchases of new lands, situate in the western part of New York, which had recently been made by Robert Morris of Gorham and Phelps. The quantity, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, was one million three hundred thousand acres at five pence an acre; with an additional tract for the gross sum of one hundred thousand pounds.

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postilion is still too much indisposed to ride the journey. It occurs to me, that you may not have adverted to Judge Putnam's being in the western country at present. Perhaps General Knox can furnish you with the maps you want, or they may be found among those, that are in my study at Philadelphia.

I expect to leave Mount Vernon, in prosecution of my southern tour, on Tuesday or Wednesday next. I shall halt one day at Fredericksburg and two at Richmond; thence I shall proceed to Charleston by the way of Petersburg, Halifax, Tarborough, Newbern, Wilmington, and Georgetown, without making any halts between Richmond and Charleston, but such as may be necessary to accommodate my journey. I am sincerely and affectionately yours.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 3 April, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

You will readily agree with me, that the best interests of the United States require such an intimation to be made either directly or indirectly to the Governor of Canada, as may produce instructions to prevent the Indians receiving military aid or supplies from the British posts or garrisons. The notoriety of this assistance has already been such, as renders inquiry into particulars unnecessary. Major Beckwith seems peculiarly designated to be the channel of an indirect intimation. Referring the mode and extent of communicating with him to your own discretion, I wish it may be suggested, in such manner as to reach Lord Dorchester, or the officer commanding in Canada, that certain information has been received of large supplies of

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ammunition being delivered from British posts to the hostile Indians, about the beginning of last campaign; and as the United States have no other view in prosecuting the present war against the Indians, than, in the failure of negotiation, to procure, by arms, peace and safety to the inhabitants of their frontier, they are equally surprised and disappointed at such an interference by the servants or subjects of a foreign state, as seems intended to protract the attainment of so just and reasonable an object.

These are my sentiments on this subject at the present moment; yet so unsettled do some circumstances appear, that it is possible you may see a necessity either to treat it with very great delicacy, or to decline acting on it altogether. The option is therefore left to your judgment, as events may make the one or the other the part of propriety. The enclosed paper is transmitted, and referred to you in the state I received it. I am, &c.

TO COLONEL JOHN DARKE.

Mount Vernon, 4 April, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

The purport of this letter is to request your service in a matter of immediate importance to the United States. My knowledge of your public dispositions assures me, that it will receive your ready attention. I shall premise its object by informing you, that, in pursuance of an act of the last session of Congress, an additional military force consisting of one regular regiment, two regiments of levies for six months, and such a proportion of militia as may be thought necessary, are ordered to be raised for the service of the United States, to be employed, unless the measures now tak-

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ing to restore peace should make it unnecessary, in an expedition against certain tribes of western Indians.

The command in chief is given to General St. Clair; that of the levies to General Butler; and that of the militia to General Scott. The command of one regiment of levies, to consist of three battalions to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was given to Colonel Henry Lee, and, on his declining, before I adverted to the idea of appointing you, Colonel Hall was, on the suggestion of the Secretary of War, named to succeed him. Should Colonel Hall decline, it is my wish, that you would accept the command of the regiment, and that, in the mean time, whether you enter into the service or not yourself, you would be so good as immediately on the receipt of this letter, which will be your authority for so doing, to appoint from among the gentlemen that are known to you, and whom you would recommend as proper characters, and think likely to recruit their men, three persons as captains, three as lieutenants, and three as ensigns in the battalion of levies to be raised in the State of Virginia for the service of the United States, for the term of six months after arriving at their place of rendezvous; that you would instruct the said officers immediately to set about engaging recruits, who may be ready on the order of the Secretary of War, or the commandant of the battalion, to embody and march to the place of rendezvous. Enclosed is a statement of the pay, clothing, forage, and rations to be allowed to the levies.

My confidence in your ability and disposition to render that service to the public, which I now request of you, persuades me, that you will immediately appoint three captains, three lieutenants, and three ensigns, so well qualified for their several trusts, that these companies of the Virginia battalion of levies will be recruited

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without delay, and ready to repair to their rendezvous by the time that the order for so doing shall be received, either from the Secretary of War, or the commandant of the battalion. You will be pleased to make a return of the officers, whom you appoint, to General Knox at Philadelphia, and signify at the same time your own determination with respect to accepting the command, if Colonel Hall should have declined.

I am thus far on a tour through the southern States, and a press of business only allows me time to repeat my belief, that you will complete this matter in a manner highly honorable to yourself and beneficial to the public. I am, with great regard, &c.

P. S. Should there be any officers of the late army, whom you think in all other respects equal to the appointments, I wish them to be preferred; but the substantial requisites of being proper for the service, and likely to recruit their men, must ever be held in view, and they must be raised on your side of the river.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 4 April, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 27th ultimo came duly to hand. For the information given in it, and for the notes which accompanied the same, I thank you.

Every expedient, as I believe you know, is tried to avert a war with the hostile tribes of Indians, and to keep those who are in treaty with us in good humor; but I am almost thoroughly convinced, that neither will be effected, or, if effected, will be of short duration,

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whilst land-jobbing, and the disorderly conduct of our borderers, are suffered with impunity; and while the States individually are omitting no occasion to intermeddle in matters, which belong to the general government.

It is not more than four or five months since the Six Nations, or part of them, through the medium of Colonel Pickering, were assured, that henceforward they would be spoken to by the government of the United States *only*, and the same thing was repeated in strong terms to Cornplanter at Philadelphia afterwards. Now, as appears by the extract from Mr. King, the legislature of New York are going into some negotiations with these very people. What must this evince to them? Why, that we pursue no system, and that there is no reliance on any of our declarations. To sum the whole up into a few words, the interference of States, and the speculations of individuals, will be the bane of all our public measures. Sincerely and affectionately yours.*

* The letter from Mr. King to the Secretary of the Treasury contained the following passage, after mentioning that danger was apprehended from the Indians in the western parts of New York.

"You are sensible, that almost every person here is interested in our western lands. Their value depends upon the settlement of the frontiers. These settlements depend on peace with the Indians; and indeed the bare possibility of a war with the Six Nations would break up our whole frontier. It is from this state of things, that the war with the Wabash Indians is so much disrelished here. The legislature have authorized the governor to draw money from the treasury, and to take such measures as he may judge suitable to preserve the good will of the neighbouring Indians. I have said, and I presume it will be the case, that all prudent means will be used to keep the Six Nations quiet; that we are embarked, and that it has become necessary to go forward with the war, if peace can be obtained by no other means; but I am more and more convinced, that it behoves the government, if practicable, to finish this Indian business in the course of the summer."

The opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the subject of the President's letter above, is expressed in the following extract from his answer.

"It is to be lamented, that our system is such as still to leave the

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TO THE SECRETARIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, TREASURY, AND WAR.

Mount Vernon, 4 April, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

As the public service may require, that communications should be made to me during my absence from the seat of government by the most direct conveyances, and as, in the event of any very extraordinary occurrence, it will be necessary to know at what time I may be found in any particular place, I have to inform you, that, unless the progress of my journey to Savannah is retarded by unforeseen interruptions, it will be regulated, including days of halt, in the following manner. I shall be on the 8th of April at Fredericksburg, the 11th at Richmond, the 14th at Petersburg, the 16th at Halifax, the 18th at Tarborough, the 20th at Newbern, the 24th at Wilmington, the 29th at Georgetown, South Carolina; on the 2d of May at Charleston, halting there five days; on the 11th at Savannah, halting there two days. Thence, leaving the line of the mail, I shall proceed to Augusta; and, according to the information

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public peace of the Union at the mercy of each State government. This is not only the case as it regards direct interferences, but as it regards the *inability* of the national government in many particulars to take those direct measures for carrying into execution its views and engagements which exigences require. For example; a party comes from a county of Virginia into Pennsylvania and wantonly murders some friendly Indians. The national government, instead of having power to apprehend the murderers and bring them to justice, is obliged to make a representation to that of Pennsylvania; that of Pennsylvania again is to make a representation to that of Virginia. And whether the murderers shall be brought to justice at all must depend upon the particular policy and energy and good disposition of two State governments, and the efficacy of the provisions of their respective laws; and the security of other States, and the money of all, are at the discretion of one. These things require a remedy." — *April 10th.*

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which I may receive there, my return by an upper road will be regulated.

The route of my return is at present uncertain, but in all probability it will be through Columbia, Camden, Charlotte, Salisbury, Salem, Guilford, Hillsborough, Harrisburg, Williamsburg to Taylor's Ferry on the Roanoke, and thence to Fredericksburg by the nearest and best road.

After thus explaining to you, as far as I am able at present, the direction and probable progress of my journey, I have to express my wish, if any serious and important cases (of which the probability is but too strong) should arise during my absence, that the Secretaries of the Departments, of State, Treasury, and War, may hold consultations thereon, to determine whether they are of such a nature as to demand my personal attendance at the seat of government; and, should they be so considered, I will return immediately from any place at which the information may reach me. Or should they determine, that measures, relevant to the case, may be legally and properly pursued without the immediate agency of the President, I will approve and ratify the measures, which may be conformed to such determination.

Presuming that the Vice-President will have left the seat of government for Boston, I have not requested his opinion to be taken on the supposed emergency; should it be otherwise, I wish him also to be consulted. I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Richmond, 13 April, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 2d came to my hands at this place. Part of it did, as you supposed, and might well suppose, astonish me exceedingly. I think it not only right, that Mr. Carmichael should be furnished with a copy of the genuine letter to Mr. Morris, but that Mr. Morris should know the result of his conferences with the Duke of Leeds at the court of Madrid. The contents of my public letters to him, you are acquainted with. My private ones were few, and there was nothing in any of them respecting England or Spain. How it comes to pass, therefore, that such interpretations, as the extracts recite, should be given, he best can account for.*

* Mr. Carmichael, the *chargé d'affaires* from the United States to the court of Spain, had informed the Secretary of State, that he had seen in Madrid extracts from the President's letter to Gouverneur Morris, (dated October 13th, 1789) authorizing him to enter into a private negotiation for certain objects with the British cabinet. He supposed these extracts to have been sent secretly by the British minister to the ambassador from that court in Spain, for the purpose of exciting a jealousy on the part of Spain in regard to the movements of the United States, and thus to have an influence on a discussion then pending between England and Spain. Mr. Carmichael supposed the extracts were mutilated or forged. Mr. Jefferson recommended, that a genuine copy of the letter should be sent to him, with permission to use it as he should think proper. The history and particulars of this negotiation may be seen in SPARKS's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. p. 339; II. pp. 3 – 56.

During the absence of the President on his tour through the southern States, Mr. Jefferson wrote to him as follows, respecting his agency in the republication of the first part of Paine's "Rights of Man."

"*Philadelphia, May 8th.* — The last week does not furnish one single public event worthy communicating to you; so that I have only to say, 'All is well.' Paine's answer to Burke's pamphlet begins to produce some squibs in our public papers. In Fenno's paper they are Burkites, in the others they are Painites. One of Fenno's was evidently from the author of the *Discourses on Davila*. I am afraid the indiscretion of a

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Being hurried, I shall only add, that I shall proceed on my journey to-morrow, and, from good information, have a dreary one before me in parts of it. Yours sincerely.

P. S. The footing upon which you have placed Mr. Carmichael's application is good.

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printer has committed me with my friend, Mr. Adams, for whom, as one of the most honest and disinterested men alive, I have a cordial estcem, increased by long habits of concurrence in opinion in the days of his republicanism, and even since his apostasy to hereditary monarchy and nobility, though we differ, we differ as friends should do. Beckley had the only copy of Paine's pamphlet and lent it to me, desiring, when I should have read it, that I should send it to a Mr. I. B. Smith, who had asked it for his brother to reprint it. Being an utter stranger to I. B. Smith, both by sight and character, I wrote a note to explain to him why I (a stranger to him) sent him a pamphlet, namely, that Mr. Beckley had desired it; and, to take off a little of the dryness of the note, I added, that I was glad to find, that it was to be reprinted, that something would at length be publicly said against the political heresies, which had lately sprung up among us, and that I did not doubt our citizens would rally again around the standard of Common Sense.

"That I had in my view the *Discourses on Davila*, which had filled Fenno's papers for a twelvemonth without contradiction, is certain; but nothing was ever further from my thoughts, than to become myself the contradictor before the public. To my great astonishment, however, when the pamphlet came out, the printer had prefixed my note to it, without having given me the most distant hint of it. Mr. Adams will unquestionably take to himself the charge of political heresy, as conscious of his own views of drawing the present government to the form of the English constitution, and I fear will consider me as meaning to injure him in the public eye. I learn that some Anglomen have censured it in another point of view, as a sanction of Paine's principles tends to give offence to the British government. Their real fear however, is, that this popular and republican pamphlet, taking wonderfully, is likely at a single stroke to wipe out all the unconstitutional doctrines, which their bell-wether Davila has been preaching for a twelvemonth.

"I certainly never made a secret of my being anti-monarchical, and anti-aristocratical; but I am sincerely mortified to be thus brought forward on the public stage, where to remain, to advance, or to retire, will be equally against my love of silence and quiet, and my abhorrence of dispute."

A further account of this matter is contained in a letter from Mr. Lear to the President, dated May 8th. He says, that a few evenings before,

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Charleston, 7 May, 1791.

SIR,

I have received your letters of the 11th and 14th of last month. Concluding from Mr. Short's statement of his negotiation in Amsterdam, and from the opinions offered in your letter of the 11th, that the loan has been obtained on the best terms practicable, and that

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at Mrs. Washington's drawing-room, he had held a conversation with Major Beckwith, (an unofficial British agent,) in which the latter expressed his surprise, that Paine's pamphlet should be dedicated to the President of the United States, and published in Philadelphia, especially as it contained many remarks, that could not but be offensive to the British government. Mr. Lear replied, that the pamphlet was written and first published in England, and that the President had neither seen it, nor knew what it contained, and of course could not in any sense be considered as approving its sentiments, or as being responsible for them. What follows is expressed in Mr. Lear's own words.

"'BECKWITH. — True; but I observe in the American edition, that the Secretary of State has given a most unequivocal sanction to the book, as *Secretary of State*; it is not said as Mr. Jefferson.

"'LEAR. — I have not seen the American, nor any other edition of this pamphlet; but I will venture to say, that the Secretary of State has not done a thing, which he would not justify.

"'BECKWITH. — On this subject you will consider, that I have only spoken as an individual, and as a private person.

"'LEAR. — I do not know you, Sir, in any other character.

"'BECKWITH. — I was apprehensive, that you might conceive, that, on this occasion, I meant to enter the lists in more than a private character.'

"At this moment the gentlemen of the Cincinnati, who are here at the general meeting, entered the room in form, to pay their respects to Mrs. Washington. This broke off the conversation; and, as Major Beckwith did not afterwards seek an occasion to renew it, nothing more passed on the subject. Yesterday the attorney-general and Mrs. Randolph dined, in a family way, with Mrs. Washington, and after dinner, the subject of Mr. Paine's pamphlet coming on the carpet, I related to the attorney-general the substance of my conversation with Major Beckwith.

"Soon after I had finished my relation to the attorney-general, a person called for him at the door, with whom he went out upon business. In the evening I saw him again, when he informed me, that, upon being

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its application in the manner you propose will be the most advantageous to the United States, I do hereby signify my approbation of what has been already done, as communicated in your letters of the 11th and 14th of April. Assenting to the further progress of the loans, as recommended by you in these letters, I request that instructions may be given for completing them agreeably thereto. I am Sir, &c.

TO JAMES SEAGROVE.

Augusta, Georgia, 20 May, 1791.

SIR,

The confidence, which your character inclines me to place in you, has induced me to commit the

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called upon after dinner, he went to Mrs. House's with the person who called him. While he was there, Major Beckwith came in, and in the course of conversation the subject of Mr. Paine's pamphlet was introduced, when Major Beckwith made the same observations, which I had before related. Upon leaving Mrs. House's, the attorney-general said, he went to Mr. Jefferson's, to know from him if he had authorized the publication of the extract from his note, which appeared prefixed to the American edition of Mr. Paine's pamphlet. Mr. Jefferson said, that, so far from having authorized it, he was exceedingly sorry to see it there; not from a disavowal of the approbation, which it gave the work, but because it had been sent to the printer, with the pamphlet for republication, without the most distant idea that he would think of publishing any part of it. And Mr. Jefferson further added, that he wished it might be understood, that he did not authorize the publication of any part of his note.

"This publication of Mr. Jefferson's sentiments respecting Mr. Paine's pamphlet will set him in direct opposition to Mr. Adams's political tenets; for Mr. Adams has, in the most pointed manner, expressed his detestation of the book and its tendency. I had myself an opportunity of hearing Mr. Adams's sentiments on it one day soon after the first copies of it arrived in this place. I was at the Vice-President's house, and while there Dr. and Mrs. Rush came in. The conversation turned upon this book, and Dr. Rush asked the Vice-President what he thought of it. After a little hesitation, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said in a very solemn manner, 'I detest that book and its tendency, from the bottom of my heart.'" — *Philadelphia, May 8th.*

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enclosed letter from the Secretary of State to Governor Quesada,* and the negotiation, which will be consequent thereon, to your care and management. The letter, which is under a flying seal, to be closed before it is delivered, will inform you of the import, and serve to instruct you in the mode of conducting the object of your mission. Delicate in its nature, it will require the greatest address and temper in its treatment. Nor must any proposition or declaration be made, which in its consequences might commit the government of the United States.

The enclosed copy of a letter, written by my direction from the Secretary of State to the Governor of Georgia, which is now confidentially communicated to you, is another source, whence some information may be drawn; but, as my ideas of your personal acquaintance with this business, combined with my opinion of your character and talents to transact it, have determined me to appoint you, it is from your own knowledge, and the circumstances which may arise, that you must decide on the best means to accomplish the negotiation. Your first care will be to arrest the farther reception of fugitive slaves; your next to obtain restitution of those slaves, who have fled to Florida, since the date of Governor Quesada's letter to Mr. Jefferson, notifying the orders of his Catholic Majesty; and your last object, which may demand the greatest address, will be to give a retrospective

* Spanish governor of Florida. By order of his court, he was inviting foreigners to settle in that territory. "This is meant for our people," said Mr. Jefferson; "debtors take advantage of it, and go off with their property. Our citizens have a right to go where they please. It is the business of the States to take measures to stop them till their debts are paid. This done, I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It will be the means of delivering to us peaceably what may otherwise cost us a war."

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force to the orders of the court of Spain, beyond the date of that letter, and to procure the Governor's orders for a general relinquishment of all fugitive slaves, who were the property of citizens of the United States. This last instruction will require peculiar delicacy, and must be entered on with caution and circumspection, or not to be taken up at all, as appearances of compliance may justify the one or the other.

If your collectorate * will not furnish money to defray your expenses, in which you will observe due economy, and of which you will transmit an account to the Secretary of State, you will supply yourself from the collector of Savannah. I am, Sir, &c.

TO CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY AND EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

Columbia, South Carolina, 24 May, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

An address to you jointly, on a subject of the following nature, may have a singular appearance; but that singularity will not exceed the evidence, which is thereby given of my opinion of, and confidence in you, and of the opinion I entertain of your confidence and friendship for each other.

The office lately resigned by Mr. John Rutledge, in the supreme judiciary of the Union, remains to be filled. Will either of you two gentlemen accept it? And, in that case, which of you? It will occur to you, that appointments to office in the recess of the Senate are temporary; but of their confirmation in such a case there can be no doubt.

It may be asked, why a proposition similar to this

* Mr. Seagrove was collector of the port of St. Mary's in Georgia.

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has never been made to you before. This is my answer. Your friends, with whom I have often conversed on like occasions, have always given it as their decided opinion, that no place at the disposal of the general government could be a compensation for the relinquishment of your private pursuits, or, in their belief, would withdraw you from them. In making the attempt, however, in the present instance, I discharge my duty, and shall await your answer (which I wish to receive soon) for the issue. Of my sincere esteem and regard for you both, I wish you to be persuaded, and that I am, Gentlemen, &c.*

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 13 June, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am arrived at this place, and just in time to acknowledge (in a hasty manner by this day's post, the first opportunity that has offered of writing to Philadelphia since I left Savannah,) the receipt of your

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* In a joint reply, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Rutledge declined accepting the proposed appointment. They placed their objection chiefly on private grounds; "but others," they added, "of a more general and more powerful nature have influenced our resolution. We think we can be of more real advantage to the general government, and to our own State government, by remaining in the legislature, than we could possibly be by accepting any office under either, which fills the public eye with the appearance of being lucrative. Under this opinion, you will be in sentiment with us, that it is our indispensable duty to continue in the station we are, so long as we possess the confidence of the public. But as we devoted a large portion of our early years to the service of our country, so, whenever her honor, or her interest, shall seem to require our aid, we shall cheerfully lay aside all private or partial considerations, and imitate as far as may be in our power the best and brightest of examples." — *Charleston, June 12th.*

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private letter of the 17th of April, by Mr. Smith, who lodged it at Camden, through which it was known my route would be on my return to the seat of the government.

Mr. Wolcott may be informed, that it is my intention to appoint him to the office of comptroller.* With respect to his successor as auditor, I shall suspend my determination, if no manifest inconvenience will result from it, until my arrival in Philadelphia, which, however, is not likely to happen before the 5th or 6th of July, as, by appointment at the last meeting, I am to meet the commissioners under the residence act, on Monday the 27th instant at Georgetown, and may, for aught I know to the contrary, be detained there several days; and I afterwards must move slowly, on account of the exhausted condition of my horses.

No letters from the northward or eastward of this, bearing date between the 15th and 30th of May, have come to my hands; and having abundant evidence, before I reached Charleston, of the slow movements of the mail through the three southernmost States, I did, before I left that place, on the 9th of that month, direct that all letters, which might be for and following me, should be returned to Fredericksburg, as the first place at which I should touch the post line upon my return. But, these directions not arriving in Richmond in time, as I conjecture, the letters of that interval agreeably to the superscriptions which I am informed were on them, were forwarded from that place to Taylor's Ferry, in expectation of meeting me there. To this circumstance, which was unknown to me, and to finding from better information than I set out with,

* He had been recommended for the appointment by Colonel Hamilton, in terms expressive of the highest opinion of his character and qualifications.

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that it would be more convenient to cross James River higher up than at Taylor's, is to be ascribed my missing the communications, which were made between the 15th and 30th of May as mentioned before. These despatches I may be long without, and perhaps never get; for there are no cross posts in those parts, and the letters, which will have to pass through many hands, may find some who are not deficient in curiosity.

My return to this place is sooner than I expected, owing to the uninterruptedness of my journey by sickness, from bad weather, or accidents of any kind whatsoever. Having obtained, before I left Philadelphia, the most accurate accounts I could get there of the places and roads through and by which I was to perform my tour, and the distances between the former, I formed my line of march accordingly, fixing each day's journey and the day to halt; from neither of which have I departed in a single instance, except staying from a particular circumstance two days in Columbia, and none at Charlotte, instead of one at each, and crossing James River at Carter's Ferry in place of Taylor's, as was the original intention. But the improbability of performing a tour of seventeen hundred miles (I have already rode more) with the same set of horses without encountering any accident, by which a deviation would be rendered unavoidable, appeared so great, that I allowed eight days for casualties, and six to refresh at this place when I should have returned to it. None of the former having happened, accounts for the fourteen days I shall remain here before the meeting with the commissioners; one of whom, Mr. Johnson, Chief Justice of the State of Maryland, and living at a considerable distance from

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Georgetown, having made his arrangements agreeably thereto, would not be able to meet me sooner.

I mention this matter, that, if there is any thing pressing in either of the departments, it may be known where I am. With affectionate regard, I am sincerely yours.

TO WILLIAM S. SMITH.

Philadelphia, 13 July, 1791.

SIR,

I have received, since my return to this place, the letter which you were so kind as to write on the 6th of June, and am now to make you my acknowledgments for the information it contained. Very soon after I came to the government, I took measures for inquiring into the disposition of the British cabinet on the matters in question between us; and what you now communicate corresponds very exactly with the result of those inquiries. Their intention, indeed, to send a minister is more strongly indicated on this occasion, as one of the secretaries of state has come forward voluntarily to say so. How far they may be disposed to settle the other points, which are really interesting to us, is still a subject of conjecture. At all events, we are to thank you for the trouble you have taken, and the lights you have contributed to throw on this subject. Having taken copies of the documents, which accompanied your letter, I herewith return the originals. I am, Sir, with regard, &c.

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TO CATHARINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

Philadelphia, 19 July, 1791.

MADAM,

At the same time that I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st of March, with which I have been honored, let me request you to accept my thanks for your polite attention in sending me the pamphlet,* which accompanied it. The importance of the subject, which has called forth your production and numerous others, is so deeply interesting to mankind, that every philanthropic mind, however far removed from the scene of action, cannot but feel anxious to see its termination; and it must be the ardent wish of every good man, that its event may increase the happiness of the human race.

I often regret, that my public duties do not allow me so much time as my inclination requires, to attend to my private correspondences, especially, Madam, with you. But I persuade myself your goodness will lead you to place the brevity of this letter to its proper account, particularly when I add, that I am but just returned from a tour of near two thousand miles through the southern States, to perform which took me more than three months. I shall only further add to it, what I know must give you great pleasure, that the United States enjoy a scene of prosperity and tranquillity under the new government, that could hardly have been hoped for under the old, and that, while you, in Europe, are troubled with war and rumors of war, every one here may sit under his own vine, and none to molest or make him afraid. I am, &c.†

* Observations on Mr. Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution."

† Mrs. Graham died on the 22d of June, 1791, and consequently before this letter was written.

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TO DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Philadelphia, 20 July, 1791.

My dear Sir,

I have received your letters of the 16th of February and 3d of May, and am much obliged by your observations on the situation, manners, customs, and dispositions of the Spanish nation. In this age of free inquiry and enlightened reason, it is to be hoped, that the condition of the people in every country will be bettered, and the happiness of mankind promoted. Spain appears to be so much behind the other nations of Europe in liberal policy, that a long time will undoubtedly elapse, before the people of that kingdom can taste the sweets of liberty, and enjoy the natural advantages of their country.

In my last I mentioned my intention of visiting the southern States, which I have since accomplished, and have the pleasure to inform you, that I performed a journey of eighteen hundred and eighty-seven miles without meeting with any interruption by sickness, bad weather, or any other untoward accident. Indeed, so highly were we favored, that we arrived at each place, where I proposed to make any halt, on the very day I fixed upon before we set out. The same horses performed the whole tour; and although much reduced in flesh, kept up their full spirits to the last day.

I am much pleased that I have taken this journey, as it has enabled me to see with my own eyes the situation of the country through which we travelled, and to learn more accurately the disposition of the people than I could from any information.

The country appears to be in a very improving state, and industry and frugality are becoming much more fashionable than they have hitherto been there. Tran-

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quility reigns among the people, with that disposition towards the general government, which is likely to preserve it. They begin to feel the good effects of equal laws and equal protection. The farmer finds a ready market for his produce, and the merchant calculates with more certainty on his payments. Manufactures have as yet made but little progress in that part of the country, and it will probably be a long time before they are brought to that state, to which they have already arrived in the middle and eastern parts of the Union.

Each day's experience of the government of the United States seems to confirm its establishment, and to render it more popular. A ready acquiescence in the laws made under it shows in a strong light the confidence, which the people have in their representatives, and in the upright views of those, who administer the government. At the time of passing a law imposing a duty on home-made spirits, it was vehemently affirmed by many, that such a law could never be executed in the southern States, particularly in Virginia and North Carolina. As this law came in force only on the 1st of this month, little can be said of its effects from experience; but, from the best information I could get on my journey, respecting its operation on the minds of the people, and I took some pains to obtain information on this point, there remains no doubt but it will be carried into effect, not only without opposition, but with very general approbation in those very parts where it was foretold, that it would never be submitted to by any one. It is possible, however, and perhaps not improbable, that some demagogue may start up, and produce and get signed some resolutions declaratory of their disapprobation of the measure.

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Our public credit stands on that ground, which three years ago it would have been a species of madness to have foretold. The astonishing rapidity, with which the newly instituted bank was filled, gives an unexampled proof of the resources of our countrymen, and their confidence in public measures. On the first day of opening the subscription, the whole number of shares (twenty thousand) were taken up in one hour, and application made for upwards of four thousand shares more than were granted by the institution, besides many others that were coming in from different quarters.

For some time past the western frontiers have been alarmed by depredations committed by some hostile tribes of Indians; but such measures are now in train as will, I presume, either bring them to sue for peace before a stroke is struck at them, or make them feel the effects of our enmity too sensibly to provoke it again unnecessarily, unless, as is much suspected, they are countenanced, abetted, and supported in their hostile views by the British. Though I must confess I cannot see much prospect of living in tranquillity with them, so long as a spirit of land-jobbing prevails, and our frontier settlers entertain the opinion, that there is not the same crime (or indeed no crime at all) in killing an Indian, as in killing a white man.

You have been informed of the spot fixed on for the seat of government on the Potomac; and I am now happy to add, that all matters between the proprietors of the soil and the public are settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, and that the business of laying out the city, the grounds for public buildings, walks, &c. is advancing under the inspection of Major L'Enfant with pleasing prospects.

Thus much for our American affairs. And I wish

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I could say as much in favor of circumstances in Europe. But our accounts from thence do not paint the situation of the inhabitants in very agreeable colors. One part exhibits war and devastations, another preparations for war, a third commotions, a fourth direful apprehensions of commotions; and indeed there seems to be scarcely a nation enjoying uninterrupted, unapprehensive tranquillity.

The example of France will undoubtedly have its effects on other kingdoms. Poland, by the public papers, appears to have made large and unexpected strides towards liberty, which, if true, reflects great honor on the present King, who seems to have been the principal promoter of the business.

By the by, I have never received any letter from Mr. Littlepage, or from the King of Poland, which you say Mr. Carmichael informed you were sent to me last summer.

I yesterday had Mr. Jaudenes, who was in this country with Mr. Gardoqui, and is now come over in a public character, presented to me for the first time by Mr. Jefferson. Colonel Ternant is expected here every day as minister from France.

I am glad to hear, that the air of Lisbon agrees so well with you. I sincerely hope you may long, very long, enjoy the blessing of health, accompanied with such other blessings as may contribute to your happiness. I have been in the enjoyment of very good health during my journey, and have rather gained flesh upon it. Mrs. Washington desires her best wishes may be presented to you. You are always assured of those of, my dear Sir, your sincere and affectionate friend.

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TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Philadelphia, 28 July, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

The communications in your several letters, relative to the state of affairs in Europe, are very gratefully received; and I should be glad if it were in my power to reply to them more in detail than I am able to do. But my public duties, which are at all times sufficiently numerous, being now much accumulated by an absence of more than three months from the seat of government, make the present a very busy moment for me.

The change of systems, which have so long prevailed in Europe, will, undoubtedly, affect us in a degree proportioned to our political or commercial connexions with the several nations of it. But I trust we shall never so far lose sight of our own interest and happiness as to become, unnecessarily, a party in their political disputes. Our local situation enables us to maintain that state, with respect to them, which otherwise could not, perhaps, be preserved by human wisdom. The present moment seems pregnant with great events; but, as you observe, it is beyond the ken of mortal foresight to determine what will be the result of those changes, which are either making, or contemplated, in the general system of Europe. Although, as fellow men, we sincerely lament the disorders, oppressions, and incertitude, which frequently attend national events, and which our European brethren must feel, yet we cannot but hope, that it will terminate very much in favor of the rights of man. And, that a change there will be favorable to this country, I have no doubt. For under the former system we were seen either in the distresses of war, or viewed after

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the peace in a most unfavorable light through the medium of our distracted state. In neither point could we appear of much consequence among nations. And should affairs continue in Europe in the same state they were, when these impressions respecting us were received, it would not be an easy matter to remove the prejudices imbibed against us. A change of system will open a new view of things, and we shall then burst upon them, as it were, with redoubled advantages.

Should we, under the present state of affairs, form connexions other than we now have with any European powers, much must be considered in effecting them, on the score of our increasing importance as a nation; and, at the same time, should a treaty be formed with a nation, whose circumstances may not at this moment be very bright, much delicacy would be necessary in order to show that no undue advantages were taken on that account. For unless treaties are mutually beneficial to the parties, it is vain to hope for a continuance of them beyond the moment when the one, which conceives itself overreached, is in a situation to break off the connexion. And I believe it is among nations as with individuals, that the party taking advantage of the distresses of another will lose infinitely more in the opinion of mankind, and in subsequent events, than it will gain by the stroke of the moment.

In my late tour through the southern States, I experienced great satisfaction in seeing the good effects of the general government in that part of the Union. The people at large have felt the security which it gives, and the equal justice which it administers to them. The farmer, the merchant, and the mechanic have seen their several interests attended to, and thence they unite in placing a confidence in their

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representatives, as well as in those in whose hands the execution of the laws is placed. Industry has there taken place of idleness, and economy of dissipation. Two or three years of good crops, and a ready market for the produce of their lands, have put every one in good humor; and in some instances they even impute to the government what is due only to the goodness of Providence.

The establishment of public credit is an immense point gained in our national concerns. This, I believe, exceeds the expectation of the most sanguine among us. And a late instance, unparalleled in this country, has been given of the confidence reposed in our measures, by the rapidity with which the subscriptions to the bank of the United States were filled. In two hours after the books were opened by the commissioners, the whole number of shares was taken up, and four thousand more applied for than were allowed by the institution; besides a number of subscriptions which were coming on. This circumstance was not only pleasing, as it related to the confidence in government, but as it exhibited an unexpected proof of the resources of our citizens.

In one of my letters to you, the account of the number of inhabitants, which would probably be found in the United States on enumeration, was too large. The estimate was then founded on the ideas held out by the gentlemen in Congress of the population of the several States, each of whom, (as was very natural) looking through a magnifier, would speak of the greatest extent, to which there was any probability of their numbers reaching. Returns of the census have already been made from several of the States, and a tolerably just estimate has been now formed in others; by which it appears, that we shall hardly reach

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four millions; but this you are to take along with it, that the *real* number will greatly exceed the *official* return; because, from religious scruples, some would not give in their lists; from an apprehension that it was intended as the foundation of a tax, others concealed, or diminished theirs; and from the indolence of the mass, and want of activity in many of the deputy enumerators, numbers are omitted. The authenticated number will, however, be far greater, I believe, than has ever been allowed in Europe; and will have no small influence in enabling them to form a more just opinion of our present growing importance, than has yet been entertained there.

This letter goes with one from the Secretary of State, to which I must refer you for what respects your public transactions; and I shall only add to it the repeated assurances of regard and affection, with which I am, dear Sir, your obedient and obliged, &c.

TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 28 July, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 7th of March and 3d of May, and to thank you for the communications which they contain relative to your public affairs.* I assure you I have often contemplated,

* *From Lafayette's Letters.* — "Whatever expectations I had conceived of a speedy termination to our revolutionary troubles, I still am tossed about in the ocean of factions and commotions of every kind; for it is my fate to be attacked on each side with equal animosity; on the one by the aristocratic, slavish, parliamentary, clerical, in a word, by all the enemies to my free and levelling doctrine; and on the other by the Orleans factions, anti-royal, licentious, and pillaging parties of every kind; so that my personal escape from amidst so many hostile bands is

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with great anxiety, the danger to which you are personally exposed by your peculiar and delicate situation in the tumult of the times, and your letters are far from quieting that friendly concern. But to one, who engages in hazardous enterprises for the good of his country, and who is guided by pure and upright views, as I am sure is the case with you, life is but a secondary consideration.

To a philanthropic mind the happiness of twenty-four millions of people cannot be indifferent; and by an American, whose country in the hour of distress re-

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rather dubious, although our great and good revolution is, thank Heaven, not only insured in France, but on the point of visiting other parts of the world, provided the restoration of public order is soon obtained in this country, where the good people have been better taught how to overthrow despotism, than they can understand how to submit to the laws. To you, my dear General, the patriarch and generalissimo of universal liberty, I shall render exact accounts of the conduct of your deputy and aid in that great cause.

"You will hear, that the National Assembly have permitted the cultivation of tobacco throughout the kingdom, as it was already established in the frontier provinces; to which they have been induced on three accounts. First, because they thought a prohibition inconsistent with the Bill of Rights. Second, because the removal of the excise barriers to the extremity of the empire made it necessary to have a general rule. Third, because the departments, formerly called Alsace and Flanders, are greatly contaminated by a foreign and aristocratic influence, and there was no doubt of the impending attack of the rebel Princes, Condé and Artois, taking place and being countenanced even by the country farming people, had we cut them off from that branch of cultivation all of a sudden.

"But what is greatly exceptionable, is a duty fixed on the introduction of American tobacco, with a premium in favor of French vessels, and a duty much too high, although it was lately lessened, on American whale oil. But I beg you and all citizens of the United States not to be discouraged by that hasty and ill-combined measure, which I hope before long to see rectified in consequence of a report of the Diplomatic Committee, including the whole at once, and for which my friends and myself have kept our arguments. I shall send you the report, the debate, and the resolve. Should we obtain an easy introduction of American tobacco, no cultivation of any importance can take place in France, and it will be the better for both countries.

"M. de Ternant has been named plenipotentiary minister to the United

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ceived such liberal aid from the French, the disorders and incertitude of that nation are to be peculiarly lamented. We must, however, place a confidence in that Providence, who rules great events, trusting that out of confusion he will produce order, and, notwithstanding the dark clouds, which may threaten at present, that right will ultimately be established.

The tumultuous populace of large cities are ever to be dreaded. Their indiscriminate violence prostrates for the time all public authority, and its consequences

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States. I have warmly wished for it, because I know his abilities, his love for liberty, his early, steady, and active attachment to the United States, and his veneration and love for you. The more I have known Ternant, the more I have found him a man of great parts, a steady, virtuous, and faithful friend. He has deserved a great share in the confidence of the National Assembly, the patriot side I mean. The King has a true regard for him. In a word, I hope he will on every account answer your purposes, and serve America as zealously in the diplomatic line, as he did when in the army." — *Paris, March 7th*, 1791.

"I wish it were in my power to give you an assurance, that our troubles are at an end, and our constitution totally established. But, although dark clouds are still before us, we have come so far as to foresee the moment, when the legislative corps will succeed this convention, and, unless foreign powers interfere, I hope that within four months your friend will have resumed the life of a private and quiet citizen.

"The rage of parties, even among the patriots, is gone as far as it is possible, short of bloodshed; but, although hatreds are far from subsiding, matters do not appear so much disposed, as they formerly were, towards collision among the supporters of the popular cause. I myself am exposed to the envy and attacks of all parties, for this simple reason, that whoever acts or means wrong finds me an insuperable obstacle. And there appears a kind of phenomenon in my situation, all parties against me, and a national popularity, which, in spite of every effort, has remained unchanged. A proof of this I had lately, when disobeyed by the guard, and unsupported by the administrative powers, who had sent me, unnoticed by the National Assembly, who had taken fright. The King I do not mention, as he could do but little in the affair; and yet the little he did was against me. Given up to all the madness of license, faction, and popular rage, I stood alone in defence of the law, and turned the tide into the constitutional channel. I hope this lesson will serve my country, and help towards establishing the principles of good order." — *Paris, May 3d*, 1791.

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are sometimes extensive and terrible. In Paris, we may suppose, these tumults are peculiarly disastrous at this time, when the public mind is in a ferment, and when, as is always the case on such occasions, there are not wanting wicked and designing men, whose element is confusion, and who will not hesitate in destroying the public tranquillity to gain a favorite point. But, until your constitution is fixed, your government organized, and your representative body renovated, much tranquillity cannot be expected; for, until these things are done, those, who are unfriendly to the revolution, will not quit the hope of bringing matters back to their former state.

The decrees of the National Assembly, respecting our tobacco and oil, do not appear to be very pleasing to the people of this country; but I do not presume, that any hasty measures will be adopted in consequence thereof; for we have never entertained a doubt of the friendly disposition of the French nation toward us, and are therefore persuaded, that, if they have done any thing, which seems to bear hard upon us, at a time when the Assembly must have been occupied in very important matters, and which perhaps would not allow time for a due consideration of the subject, they will, in the moment of calm deliberation, alter it and do what is right.

I readily perceive, my dear Sir, the critical situation in which you stand, and never can you have greater occasion to show your prudence, judgment, and magnanimity.

On the 6th of this month I returned from a tour through the southern States, which had employed me for more than three months. In the course of this journey I have been highly gratified in observing the flourishing state of the country, and the good disposi-

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tions of the people. Industry and economy have become very fashionable in these parts, which were formerly noted for the opposite qualities, and the labors of man are assisted by the blessings of Providence. The attachment of all classes of citizens to the general government seems to be a pleasing presage of their future happiness and respectability.

The complete establishment of our public credit is a strong mark of the confidence of the people in the virtue of their representatives, and the wisdom of their measures; and, while in Europe wars or commotions seem to agitate almost every nation, peace and tranquillity prevail among us, except on some parts of our western frontiers, where the Indians have been troublesome, to reclaim or chastise whom proper measures are now pursuing. This contrast between the situation of the people of the United States, and those of Europe, is too striking to be passed over, even by the most superficial observer, and may, I believe, be considered as one great cause of leading the people here to reflect more attentively on their own prosperous state, and to examine more minutely, and consequently approve more fully of the government under which they live, than they otherwise would have done. But we do not wish to be the only people, who may taste the sweets of an equal and good government. We look with an anxious eye to the time, when happiness and tranquillity shall prevail in your country, and when all Europe shall be freed from commotions, tumults, and alarms.

Your friends in this country often express their great attachment to you by their anxiety for your safety. Knox, Jay, Hamilton, Jefferson, remember you with affection; but none with more sincerity and true attachment than, my dear Sir, your affectionate, &c.

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TO THOMAS JOHNSON.

Philadelphia, 7 August, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I have been duly favored with your letters of the 27th and 30th of July, the last of which came to hand while the judges of the Supreme Court were with me on an invitation to dinner.

I took this opportunity of laying your letter before the Chief Justice (as you mentioned your having written to him and to Mr. Nelson on the subject), in order that it might be communicated to the other judges. After a few minutes' consultation together, the Chief Justice informed me, that the arrangement had been, or would be, agreed upon, that you might be wholly exempted from performing this tour of duty at that time. And I take the present occasion to observe, that an opinion prevails pretty generally among the judges, as well as others, who have turned their minds to the subject, against the expediency of continuing the circuits of the associate judges, and that it is expected some alterations in the judicial system will be brought forward at the next session of Congress, among which this may be one.

Upon considering the arrangements of the judges with respect to the ensuing circuit, and the probability of future relief from these disagreeable tours, I thought it best to direct your commission to be made out and transmitted to you, which has accordingly been done; and I have no doubt that the public will be benefited, and the wishes of your friends gratified, by your acceptance. With sentiments of very great regard, &c.*

* Mr. Johnson was appointed one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the place of John Rutledge, who had resigned.

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TO WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

Philadelphia, 9 August, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have had the pleasure of receiving your friendly letter of the 10th of last month, and I reply with affectionate regard to your congratulations and kind wishes. A slight indisposition, since my return, (occasioned by a tumor, not much unlike the one I had at New York in 1789,) of which I am now recovered, does not forbid the expectation, that my health may be ultimately improved by my tour through the southern States. My happiness has certainly been promoted by the excursion, and nowhere in a greater degree than while resident among my fellow citizens of South Carolina. To their attentions, yours in particular, I shall always confess myself much obliged, and particularly flattered by the regards of your fair compatriots, to whom I wish, upon every occasion, to be remembered with grateful respect.

I shall realize your promise of a visit with sincere satisfaction. Till then, and always, I beg you to believe me with the greatest regard and esteem, my dear Sir, &c.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM DARKE.*

Private.

Philadelphia, 9 August, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 24th ultimo. Regarding its contents, although relating to objects of

* Holding a colonel's commission in the western expedition under General St. Clair.

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public import, as a private communication, I shall reply to and remark upon them with that candor, which my personal esteem and my public wishes strongly enjoin.

I need not tell you, that my regret is seriously excited by learning, that any cause of discontent should exist, either on your own part, or that of your officers, with General Butler; and it is hardly necessary to express my earnest wish, that it may speedily subside, and be entirely done away. But, as I rely greatly on your disposition to advance the public interest, though even by the relinquishment of private opinions, I shall offer to your consideration some remarks, which I am persuaded will have weight with you, and induce your influence with your officers to dismiss their discontents, and to think only of their public duty.

Let it in the first place be remembered, that one common cause engages your service, and requires all your exertions. It is the interest of your country. To that interest all inferior considerations must yield. As an apology for the seeming inattention of a commanding officer, it should be considered, that the variety of objects, which engage him, may produce an appearance of neglect by no means intended. In General Butler's particular instance, some allowance should be made for the effects of bodily indisposition, combined with the cares of his station; and I am satisfied no one, either from temper or reflection, will more cheerfully make this allowance than yourself.

On this belief I rest an expectation, that every uneasiness will be composed, and that the public service will be proceeded in with harmony and zeal. The Secretary of War has directed a board of officers to decide the question of rank between you and Colonel

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Gibson and others. I shall at all times be happy to evince the sincere esteem, with which I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Private.

Philadelphia, 14 August, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

As it never has been my intention to bestow double offices on the same person, and my design was, that those marshals, who have received appointments under the late revenue act, should hold the former until the first of the present month (the time by which the census was to be returned, or until this business should be accomplished,) and no longer, it behoves me to look for a successor to Mr. Jackson in the office of marshal for the district of Massachusetts. How desirable this office may be, I know not. At present the mere emolument of it can be no object; but, as a step, it may be desired by those, who have nothing better in prospect. The purport of this letter is to request the favor of you to discover, first, whether General Cobb would accept the appointment, and secondly, in case he is disinclined to it, if General Brooks would act in it. I do not incline to issue the commission to either of them, or to any other, on an uncertainty, because the refusal of commissions makes a bad impression on the public mind. Having observed this, and it occurring to you that the 1st of August is passed, the expediency of an early answer will readily appear, and I shall be thankful for receiving it accordingly. I am always, and sincerely, your affectionate, &c.

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TO JOHN JAY.

Philadelphia, 4 September, 1791.

My dear Sir,

The indisposition, and consequent absence from Mount Vernon, of my nephew, Major Washington, to whom the care of my private business is intrusted, make it indispensably necessary for me to go home before the meeting of Congress. My stay there will be longer or shorter, according to circumstances; but it cannot exceed the middle of October, as I must be back before the meeting of that body.

Will you permit me, my dear Sir, to make a similar request to the one I did last year, and to pray that your ideas may not be confined to matters merely judicial, but extended to all other topics which have occurred, or may occur to you, as fit subjects for general or private communications. With sincere esteem and affectionate regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

Philadelphia, 5 September, 1791.

Dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure to receive the letter, which you were so good as to write to me from Berlin on the 26th of April.†

The favorable sentiments, which you express of our country and its councils are very agreeable to me. The kind interest, which you take in my personal happiness, excites a grateful sensibility.

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* See Mr. Jay's reply in the Appendix, No. X.

† After leaving the United States, Count de Moustier had been sent as minister from France to the Prussian court.

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You will learn with pleasure, that events have realized the most sanguine hopes of our national prosperity. The influence of the general government has extended to every relation of political improvement, and to the promotion of our social happiness. The interesting state of affairs in France excites the sympathy and engages the good wishes of our citizens, who will rejoice to hear, that the public deliberations have resulted in the permanent dignity and happiness of your nation. In the joy, which that event will diffuse, no one will participate more sincerely than he who is, with great regard, dear Sir, &c.

TO COUNT D'ESTAING.

Philadelphia, 7 September, 1791.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 30th of May by the hands of M. de Ternant; and I beg you will be assured, that I have a proper sense of the very polite and obliging manner in which you are pleased to express your personal regard for me. The manner in which you speak of M. de Ternant is highly honorable to him, and, from his talents, discretion, and proper views, united with the extensive information, which he possesses, there is but little doubt of his rendering good services to both countries.

Such is the state of your political affairs, by our last accounts, that further information must be received to enable us to form an opinion respecting them. But, in any event, the welfare of the French nation cannot but be dear to this country; and that its happiness may in the end be established on the most permanent and

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liberal foundation is the ardent wish of every true American, and of none more sincerely than of him, who has the honor to be, with due consideration, &c.

TO M. DE LA LUZERNE.*

Philadelphia, 10 September, 1791.

SIR,

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 15th of May, which reached me but a few days ago, I cannot forbear to express the sensibility with which I receive those warm effusions of personal attachment and respectful remembrance, which are contained in it; and at the same time I beg you will be assured, that I reciprocate them with truth and sincerity.

As the happiness of the French nation cannot be indifferent to the people of this country, when we remember the aid which we received therefrom in the hour of distress, you will readily believe, that we view with no small anxiety the troubles, which for some time past have agitated that kingdom; and the suspense in which we are held as to what may be the consequence of a late important event, which has taken place there, deprives us, in some measure, of the full enjoyment of those feelings, which would naturally result from a reflection on the prosperous situation of the United States. But, however gloomy the face of things may at this time appear in France, yet we will not despair of seeing tranquillity again restored; and we cannot help looking forward with a lively wish to the period, when order shall be established by an energetic government, founded on the broad basis of liberality and the

* By the abolition of the *Noblesse* in France, M. de la Luzerne had lost his title of *Marquis*. He died before this letter reached him.

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rights of man, which will make millions happy, and place your nation in the rank which she ought to hold.

In a tour, which I made last spring through the southern States, I confirmed by observation the accounts, which we had all along received of the happy effects of the general government upon our agriculture, commerce, and industry. The same effects pervade the middle and eastern States, with the addition of vast progress in the most useful manufactures. The complete restoration of our public credit holds us up in a bright light abroad. Thus it appears, that the United States are making great progress towards national happiness; and, if it is not attained here in as high a degree as human nature will admit of, I think we may then conclude, that political happiness is unattainable. But, at the same time, we wish it not to be confined to this country alone; and, as it expands through the world, our enjoyments will expand with it. That you may find it in your nation, and realize it yourself, is the sincere prayer of, Sir, &c.

TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 10 September, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

The lively interest, which I take in your welfare, keeps my mind in constant anxiety for your personal safety amidst the scenes in which you are perpetually engaged. Your letter of the 6th of June by M. de Ternant gave me that pleasure, which I receive from all your letters, which tell me you are well.* But, from

* *From Lafayette's Letter* — "I rejoice and glory in the happy situation of American affairs. I bless the restoration of your health, and

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the account you there gave, it did not appear, that you would be soon relieved from your arduous labors; and, from the information we have received of an important event, which has taken place since that time, it does not appear likely, that the clouds which have long obscured your political horizon will be soon dispersed. As yet we are in suspense as to what may have been the consequences of this event; and feeling, as we do in this country, a sincere regard for the French nation, we are not a little anxious about them. Opinions we are not able to form here; therefore none can be given on the subject. But at any rate, you may be assured, my dear Sir, that we do not view with indifference the happiness of so many millions.

I am glad of M. de Ternant's appointment to this country; for I have a good opinion of his abilities, discretion, and proper views; and, as you observe, as he seems to belong to both countries, there is no doubt

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wish I could congratulate you on your side of the Atlantic, but we are not in that state of tranquillity which may admit of my absence; the refugees hovering about the frontiers, intrigues in most of the despotic and aristocratic cabinets, our regular army divided into Tory officers and undisciplined soldiers, licentiousness among the people not easily repressed, the capital, that gives the tone to the empire, tossed about by anti-revolutionary or factious parties, the Assembly fatigued by hard labor, and very unmanageable. However, according to the popular motto, *Ça ira*, 'It will do.' We are introducing as fast as we can religious liberty. The Assembly has put an end to its existence by a new convocation; has unfitted its own members for immediate reëlection and for places in the executive; and is now reducing the constitution to a few principal articles, leaving the legislative assemblies to examine and mend the others, and preparing every thing for a convention as soon as our machine shall have had a fair trial.

"As to the surrounding governments, they hate our revolution, but do not know how to meddle with it, so afraid are they of *catching the plague*. We are going to take measures to discipline the army, both officers and soldiers. They will prepare to encamp and leave the cities; their officers will have the same power as in time of war. M. de Condé and his party will be summoned to explain themselves, if they continue cabal-

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but this, joined to the good information he possesses of the relative and particular interests of both, will enable him to render as much service, and be as acceptable to each, as any man can be.

I shall next week set off for Mount Vernon with Mrs. Washington and the children, where I shall, if possible, enjoy a few weeks of retirement before the meeting of Congress in the last of October. Indeed my presence there, as it will not at this time interfere with my public duties, is necessary for my interest, as George, your old aid, has for some time past been too much indisposed to pay attention to my concerns, and is now over the mountains for his health. The last account from him was favorable. He had received benefit from his journey. I sincerely wish, my dear Sir, that the affairs of your country were in such a train as would permit you to relax a little from the excessive fatigues to which you have of late been

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ling and enlisting declared traitors. To M. de Ternant I refer for more particulars. Mr. Jefferson and myself had long thought that Ternant was a very proper man to act as French minister in America. He in a great measure belongs to both countries. He is sensible, honest, well informed, and has a plain and decisive way of doing business, which will be very convenient. He has long been an officer under your command, feeling and acting in an American capacity. He is personally much attached to you, and I have had in this revolution many instances of his friendship for me. He might have been a minister in the Council, but was rather backward on the occasion, and behaved as a prudent, not an ambitious man.

"Mr. Short, who does the business of the United States with all the zeal and ingenuity of a most patriotic and sensible man, and who is respected and loved in France in a manner equally useful to the public and honorable to himself, has written to Mr. Jefferson respecting New Orleans. France will do every thing in her power to bring Spain to reason, but will have a difficult and probably unsuccessful task. Upon the whole, that navigation [of the Mississippi] we must have, and in case the people of Louisiana wish to make a fifteenth State, who can help it, and who ought, Spaniards excepted, not to rejoice at it? For my part, certainly, I should not be a mourner." — *Paris, June 6th.*

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exposed; and I cannot help looking forward with an anxious wish, and a lively hope, to the time when peace and tranquillity will reign in your borders, under the sanction of a respectable government, founded on the broad basis of liberality and the rights of man. It must be so. The great Ruler of events will not permit the happiness of so many millions to be destroyed; and to his keeping I resign you, my dear Sir, with all that friendship and affectionate attachment, with which you know me to be, &c.

TO GEORGE CLINTON, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

14 September, 1791.

SIR,

Your letter of the 7th instant, with its enclosure, did not reach me till yesterday. The intelligence it communicates is of a nature both serious and important. Indeed, the step it announces, as about to be taken by the British, would be one so extraordinary in every view, as to justify a question, whether the indications, which are alleged to have been given, have not rather proceeded from some indiscreet levity on the part of the officers alluded to, than from any real design of doing what appears to have been threatened. A little time, however, will explain the true state of the matter.

Your Excellency needs not, I am persuaded, be assured, that, in connexion with the more general considerations, which are involved in the circumstance, I feel a due concern for any injury, inconvenience, or dissatisfaction, which may have arisen or may arise, in respect to the State of New York, or any part of its inhabitants, in consequence of the detention of the

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posts, or the interferences which may have grown out of it. Nor has the matter failed to receive from me the degree of attention to which it is entitled. Yet in a point of such vast magnitude, as that of the preservation of the peace of the Union, particularly in this still very early stage of our affairs, and at a period so little remote from a most exhausting and affecting, though successful war, the public welfare and safety evidently enjoin a conduct of circumspection, moderation, and forbearance. And it is relied upon, that the known good sense of the community ensures its approbation of such a conduct.

There are, however, bounds to the spirit of forbearance, which ought not to be exceeded. Events may occur, which may demand a departure from it. But if extremities are at any time to ensue, it is of the utmost consequence, that they should be the result of a deliberate plan, not of an accidental collision, and that they should appear, both at home and abroad, to have flowed either from a necessity, which left no alternative, or from a combination of advantageous circumstances, which left no doubt of the expediency of hazarding them. Under the impression of this opinion, and supposing that the event, which is apprehended, should be realized, it is my desire, that no hostile measure be in the first instance attempted.

With a view, nevertheless, to such ultimate proceedings as the nature of the case may require, and that upon the ground of well authenticated facts, I have concluded to send a gentleman to the spot, who will be charged to ascertain and report to me whatever may take place, together with the general situation of the part of the country immediately affected by the vicinity of the British posts. An additional motive to this measure is the desire of obtaining in-

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formation, in reference to the establishment of the custom-house in the State of Vermont, which is also connected with the position of those posts.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO M. DE TERNANT, MINISTER FROM FRANCE.*

Mount Vernon, 24 September, 1791.

SIR,

I have not delayed a moment, since the receipt of your communications of the 22d instant, in despatching orders to the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the money, and to the Secretary of War to deliver the arms and ammunition, which you have applied to me for. Sincerely regretting as I do the cause, which has given rise to this application, I am happy in the opportunity of testifying how well disposed the United States are to render every aid in their power to our good friends and allies, the French, to quell "the alarming insurrection of the negroes in Hispaniola," and of the ready disposition of the executive authority to effect it. I have the honor to be, &c.†

TO M. DE TERNANT.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 2 October, 1791.

SIR,

The details with which you have been pleased to favor me, under date of the 24th ultimo, of the un-

* Successor to Count de Moustier.

† The amount requested by the French minister was forty thousand dollars. It was paid on account of the debt due from the United States to France. The money was expended in procuring and sending supplies of provisions to the suffering inhabitants of Hispaniola.

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fortunate insurrection of the negroes in Hispaniola, came duly to hand; and I pray you to accept my best thanks for the trouble you have taken to give them. What the final issue of this affair may be, is difficult at this distance, and with the imperfect information we have, to foretell; but, certain it is, the commencement has been both daring and alarming. Let us, however, hope for the best. I would fain hope, that this and your other business may be so arranged, as to give me the pleasure of welcoming you to this seat of retirement before I leave it, which by appointment is to happen on the 16th instant. I shall add no more than assurances of the sincere esteem and regard, with which I am, Sir, &c.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Mount Vernon, 10 October, 1791.

SIR,

By the post of Friday I received your communications of the 1st instant, and, from the character of Mr. Campbell, I am glad to hear he is disposed to act as attorney for the district of Virginia, and that you had forwarded the commission to him for that purpose. Also, that a pardon had been sent to Samuel Dodge, as it appears that his errors were unintentional.

It is my wish and desire, that you would examine the laws of the general government, which have relation to Indian affairs, that is, for the purpose of securing their lands to them, restraining States or individuals from purchasing their lands, and forbidding unauthorized intercourse in their dealings with them; and, moreover, that you would suggest such auxiliary laws, as will supply the defects of those, which are in

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being, thereby enabling the executive to enforce obedience.

If Congress expect to live in peace with the neighbouring Indians, and to avoid the expenses and horrors of continual hostilities, such a measure will be found indispensably necessary; for, unless adequate penalties are provided, that will check the spirit of speculation in lands, and will enable the executive to carry them into effect, this country will be constantly embroiled with the Indians, and appear faithless not only in their eyes, but in those of the neighbouring powers also. For, notwithstanding the existing laws and solemn treaties, and proclamations, which have been issued to enforce a compliance with both, and some attempts of the government southwest of the Ohio to restrain their proceedings, yet the agents for the Tennessee Company are at this moment, by *public advertisements* under the signature of a Zachariah Cox, encouraging by offers of land and other inducements a settlement at the Muscle Shoals, and are likely to obtain emigrants for that purpose, although there is good evidence, that the measure is disapproved by the Creeks and Cherokees; and it is presumed it is so likewise by the Chickasaws and Choctaws, unless they have been imposed upon by assurances, that trade is the only object in view by the establishment.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 14 October, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

When I addressed a private letter to you a few days ago, I had no more idea that Monday, the 24th

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instant, was the day appointed for the meeting of Congress than I had of its being doomsday; until it was mentioned to me in a letter, which I have just received from Mr. Lear, who was under the like mistake. It had got so fixed in my mind, that the last Monday was the time, that I never consulted the law, or made inquiries about it; and meant to move leisurely on, in the course of next week, for Philadelphia; and for that purpose had directed Page to send off his stage-coach so as to be at Georgetown on Tuesday the 18th. This discovery, however, will oblige me, as soon as the means are in my power, to accelerate my journey; and it induces me at the same time to urge you more earnestly to be prepared, against my arrival, with what my last requested..

How far, in addition to the several matters mentioned in that letter, would there be propriety, do you think, in suggesting the policy of encouraging the growth of cotton and hemp in such parts of the United States as are adapted to the culture of them? The advantages, which would result to this country from the encouragement of these articles for home manufacture, I have no doubt of; but how far bounties on them come within the powers of the general government, or it might comport with the temper of the times to expend money for such purposes, is necessary to be considered. Without a bounty I know of no means by which they can be effectually encouraged. The establishment of arsenals in convenient and proper places is, in my opinion, a measure of high national importance, meriting the serious attention of Congress; and is one of those measures, which ought to be brought to their view.

Yesterday I received the resignation of John Spotswood Moore, surveyor of the port of West Point in

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this State. I mention it now, that, if opportunities should be afforded, you may make the necessary inquiries into the fitness of a successor to him.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO ROBERT LEWIS.

Mount Vernon, 15 October, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

Enclosed is a letter for Mr. Muse, requesting him to put my papers into your hands, and to give you such information with respect to the business, as is necessary to bring you acquainted with the present state of it. After you have read the letter, and noticed the contents, seal and deliver it to him.

Receive from Mr. Muse all the blank leases, with which I have furnished him, as well as those which have been filled up and executed. It will be indispensably necessary for you to get the precise state of the rents, which are due on each tenement, the ability of the tenants, and the prospect of receiving the rents. Make yourself master, also, of the disputes, if any there be, to which the tenements are subject.

From long experience I have laid it down as an unerring maxim, that to exact rents with punctuality is not only the *right* of the landlord, but that it is also for the benefit of the tenant that it should be so, unless by providential and uncontrollable events the latter is rendered unable to pay them. In such cases, he should not only meet with indulgence, but in some instances with a remittal of the rent. But in the ordinary course of these transactions, the rents ought to be collected with the most rigid exactness, especially from my tenants, who do not, for most of the farms,

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pay a fourth of what the tenements would let for, if they were now in my possession. If it is found difficult for a tenant to pay *one* rent, it is more difficult for him to pay *two*. When *three* are due he despairs, or cares little about them; and if they run to a greater number, it is highly probable, that, to avoid paying any, he will leave you the bag to hold. For these reasons, except under the circumstances before mentioned, it is my desire that you will give all the tenants timely notice, that you will grant no indulgences beyond those allowed by the covenants in the leases. If they find you *strict*, they will be *punctual;* if otherwise, your trouble will be quadrupled, and I can have no dependence upon my rents, which are now my principal support, since, by the diligence of Mr. Muse, the tenants are brought into a proper way of thinking and acting in regard to them, and my crops are almost continually failing me.

As there have been many transfers, and some without any privity of mine, although it is contrary to a covenant in the leases, it is a matter which will claim your particular attention. And, as I have already observed, as the leases of old date are given for one fourth of their *present* value, it is my particular request, that you will endeavour to investigate with great accuracy, and inform me of the result, what *lives* still remain in each lease; throwing the proof (unless you are advised by able counsel that it cannot be done), where the lessees are not to be produced, upon the tenant to show that they are actually in existence.

As all the rents become due on or before the first day of January in every year, and distrainable at the expiration of a certain number of days thereafter, I shall expect, that, in some short and reasonable time after the days of grace expire, the amount of your

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collection will be paid into the hands of Major George A. Washington, my present attorney, or whosoever hereafter may have the superintendence of my business in this State, during my absence in the service of the public.

Although I flatter myself, that there is no occasion for the admonition, yet I will accompany this appointment with suggesting to you, that business is rarely well executed, which is not diligently pursued, and that the same consequences of neglect will happen to you, that would happen to any idle, inattentive, or deficient collector, if any of these qualities should appear in your conduct; and the more so, as it is owing to the attentive and close watchings of Mr. Muse, that this resource has been productive and useful to me. Many rents have been recovered, which appeared to be desperate, by his activity and perseverance.

If they are admitted in the first instances, you will have a thousand pleas for forbearance; but, considering the low and easy rents, at which my tenements stand, I know of none which ought to be admitted, except losses by fire, by storms, or by such droughts as are apparent and well attested; for bad crops, proceeding from idleness, may and will be a constant plea, and they ought to be inadmissible.

It is of essential consequence, that you should examine accurately, whether the covenants in the leases, with respect to the buildings to be erected, orchards to be planted, meadows to be made, and woods to be preserved, have been complied with. These were important objects with me at the time the leases were granted, and are so still. I well knew how much they would contribute to enhance the value of the lots, at the expiration of the term for which the leases were given. My best wishes attend Mrs. Lewis and yourself, and I remain your affectionate uncle.

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TO HARRIOT WASHINGTON.*

Philadelphia, 30 October, 1791.

DEAR HARRIOT,

I have received your letter of the 21st instant, and shall always be glad to hear from you. When my business will permit, inclination will not be wanting in me to acknowledge the receipt of your letters; and this I shall do the more cheerfully, as it will afford me opportunities at those times of giving you such occasional advice, as your situation may require.

At present I could plead a better excuse for curtailing my letter to you, than you had for shortening yours to me, having a multitude of occupations before me, while you have nothing to do; consequently you might with as much convenience to yourself have sat down to write your letter an hour or two or even a day sooner, as have delayed it until your cousin was on the point of sending to the post-office. I make this remark for no other reason, than to show you it is better to offer no excuse than a bad one, if at any time you should happen to fall into an error.

Occupied as my time now is, and must be during the sitting of Congress, I nevertheless will endeavour to inculcate upon your mind the delicacy and danger of that period, to which you are now arrived under peculiar circumstances. You are just entering into the state of womanhood, without the watchful eye of a mother to admonish, or the protecting aid of a father to advise and defend you; you may not be sensible, that you are at this moment about to be stamped with that character, which will adhere to you through

* An orphan niece, who had resided for some time in General Washington's family, and to whom he continued to extend his care and aid. She now resided with some of her other relatives at Fredericksburg.

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life; the consequences of which you have not perhaps attended to, but be assured it is of the utmost importance that you should.

Your cousins, with whom you live, are well qualified to give you advice; and I am sure they will, if you are disposed to receive it. But, if you are disobliging, self-willed, and untowardly, it is hardly to be expected that they will engage themselves in unpleasant disputes with you, especially Fanny, whose mild and placid temper will not permit her to exceed the limits of wholesome admonition or gentle rebuke. Think, then, to what dangers a giddy girl of fifteen or sixteen must be exposed in circumstances like these. To be under but little or no control may be pleasing to a mind that does not reflect, but this pleasure cannot be of long duration; and reason, too late perhaps, may convince you of the folly of misspending time. You are not to learn, I am certain, that your fortune is small. Supply the want of it, then, with a well cultivated mind, with dispositions to industry and frugality, with gentleness of manners, an obliging temper, and such qualifications as will attract notice, and recommend you to a happy establishment for life.

You might, instead of associating with those from whom you can derive nothing that is good, but may have observed every thing that is deceitful, lying, and bad, become the intimate companion of, and aid to, your cousin in the domestic concerns of the family. Many girls, before they have arrived at your age, have been found so trustworthy as to take the whole trouble of a family from their mothers; but it is by a steady and rigid attention to the rules of propriety, that such confidence is obtained, and nothing would give me more pleasure than to hear that you had acquired it. The merits and benefits of it would redound more to

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your advantage in your progress through life, and to the person with whom you may in due time form a matrimonial connexion, than to any others; but to none would such a circumstance afford more real satisfaction, than to your affectionate uncle.

TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN.

Philadelphia, 7 November, 1791.

MY LORD,

The letter, with which you were pleased to honor me, dated the 4th of July, was presented to me by Lord Wycombe.* Permit me to thank your lordship for introducing so worthy and intelligent a young nobleman to my acquaintance, and to regret that his stay in this country has been so short as not to allow him to investigate it more. We flatter ourselves, however, that the impression it has made on him is not unfavorable, and we should have hoped a better knowledge of it would not have weakened the first impressions.

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* Eldest son to the Marquis of Lansdown, who was the bearer of the following letter from his father to President Washington.

"Bowood Park, 4 July, 1791.

"SIR,

"I cannot possibly suffer my son to go to America without soliciting your protection of him during his stay within the United States. He goes upon no political errand whatever, but singly from the desire natural to his age of seeing all he can; and I cannot but approve his plan, as he can meet with no conversation, which will not confirm him in those principles of freedom, which have constituted my happiness through life. I shall always look upon that as the happiest moment of it, when I had the good fortune to have it in my power to be of some little use in fixing the boundary between the respective dominions in a manner, which, though not desired by the alliance, must I trust and hope in the end lay the foundation of cordial friendship and good understanding. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect possible, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"LANSDOWN."

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This country has a grateful recollection of the agency your Lordship had in settling the dispute between Great Britain and it, and in fixing the boundary between them. It is to be wished, that the same liberal policy was pursued, and every germ of discontent removed, that they might be reciprocally beneficial to each other, their laws, language, and customs being much assimilated. I beg your Lordship to be assured of the great respect and consideration, with which I have the honor to be, &c.

TO DAVID STUART.

Philadelphia, 20 November, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I had heard before the receipt of your letter of the 29th of October, and with a degree of surprise and concern not easy to be expressed, that Major L'Enfant had refused the map of the Federal City, when it was requested by the commissioners for the satisfaction of the purchasers at the sale. It is much to be regretted, however common the case is, that men, who possess talents which fit them for peculiar purposes, should almost invariably be under the influence of an untoward disposition, or are sottish, idle, or possessed of some other disqualification, by which they plague all those with whom they are concerned. But I did not expect to have met with such perverseness in Major L'Enfant as his late conduct exhibited.

Since my first knowledge of this gentleman's abilities in the line of his profession, I have received him not only as a scientific man, but one who added considerable taste to professional knowledge; and have thought that, for such employment as he is now engaged

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in, for prosecuting public works, and carrying them into effect, he was better qualified than any one, who had come within my knowledge in this country, or indeed in any other, the probability of obtaining whom could be counted upon.

I had no doubt, at the same time, that this was the light in which he considered himself, and, of course, that he would be so tenacious of his plans as to conceive, that they would be marred if they underwent any change or alteration; but I did not suppose, that he would have interfered further in the mode of selling the lots, than by giving an opinion with his reasons in support of it; and this perhaps it might be well always to hear, as the latter would stamp the propriety or show the futility of it. To advise this I am the more inclined, as I am persuaded that all those, who have any agency in the business, have the same objects in view, although they may differ in sentiment with respect to the mode of execution; because, from a source even less productive than L'Enfant's may flow ideas, that are capable of improvement; and because I have heard, that Ellicott, who is also a man of uncommon talents in his way, and of a more placid temper, has intimated that no information had been required either from him or L'Enfant on some point or points (I do not now particularly recollect what), which they thought themselves competent to give.

I have no other motive for mentioning the latter circumstance, than merely to show, that the feelings of such men are always alive, and, where their assistance is essential, that it is policy to honor them, or to put on the appearance of doing it.

I have, however, since I have come to the knowledge of Major L'Enfant's refusal of the map at the sale, given him to understand through a direct channel,

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though not an official one as yet, further than what casually passed between us, previous to the sale, at Mount Vernon, that he must in future look to the commissioners for directions; that, they having laid the foundation of this grand design, the superstructure depended upon them; that I was perfectly satisfied his plans and opinions would have due weight, if properly offered and explained; that, if the choice of commissioners was again to be made, I could not please myself better, or hit upon those who had the measure more at heart, or were better disposed to accommodate the various interests and persons concerned; and that it would give me great concern to see a goodly prospect clouded by impediments, which might be thrown in the way, or injured by disagreements, which would only serve to keep alive the hopes of those, who are enemies to the plan. But, that you may not infer from hence, that he has expressed any dissatisfaction at the conduct of the commissioners towards him, it is an act of justice I should declare, that I never have heard, directly or indirectly, that he has expressed any. His pertinacity would, I am persuaded, be the same in all cases and to all men. He conceives, or would have others believe, that the sale was promoted by withholding the general map, and thereby the means of comparison; but I have caused it to be signified to him, that I am of a different opinion, and that it is much easier to impede than to force a sale, as none who knew what they were about would be induced to buy (to borrow an old adage) *a pig in a poke.*

It is of great importance, in my opinion, that the city should be laid out into squares and lots with all the despatch that the nature and accuracy of the work will admit. And it is the opinion of intelligent and well-informed men, now in this city, who are friends

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to this measure, that for this purpose, and to accommodate the two great interests of Georgetown and Carrollsburg, it would be advisable, rather than delay another public sale till the whole can be completed, to lay all the ground into squares, which shall be west of the avenue leading from Georgetown to the President's house, thence by the avenue to the house for Congress, thence by a proper avenue (I have not the plan by me to say which) to the Eastern Branch, comprehending the range of squares next to and bounding on the said avenues on the east side, and to appoint as early a day for the sale as a moral certainty of their completion will warrant.

When I speak of the importance of despatch, it does not proceed from any doubt I harbour, that the enemies to the measure can shake the establishment of it; for it is with pleasure I add as my opinion, that the roots of the permanent seat are penetrating deep, and spreading far and wide. The eastern States are not only getting more and more reconciled to the measure, but are beginning to view it in a more advantageous light, as it respects their policy and interests; and some members from that quarter, who were its bitterest foes while the question was pending in Congress, have now declared in unequivocal terms to various people, and at various times, that, if attempts should be made to repeal the law, they would give it every opposition in their power. These sentiments of the eastern people, being pretty well known, will, I am persuaded, arrest the design, if a repeal has been contemplated; but it will not prevent those, who are irreconcilable, from aiming all the side blows in their power at it; and the rumor, which was spread at the sale, that Congress never would reside there, is one of the expedients, that will be exerted in all its force,

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with a view to discourage the sales of the lots, and the buildings thereon, that the accommodations may be unfit for the government when the period shall arrive in which the removal is to take place.

When I see Major L'Enfant, who it is said will shortly be here, I shall endeavour to bring him to some explanation of the terms on which he will serve the public; and will also impress upon him the necessity of despatch, that as early a sale as circumstances will admit may ensue.

With very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 21 November, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

Mr. John Trumbull, with whom you are acquainted, is engaged in painting a series of pictures of the most important events of the revolution in this country, from which he proposes to have plates engraved. I have taken peculiar satisfaction in giving every proper aid in my power to a subscription for supporting this work, which has been likewise patronized by the principal people of this country. In the hope of meeting the patronage of the French nation, to whose honor, as well as that of America, this plan is directed, Mr. Trumbull informs me he has ordered a subscription to be opened in Paris. And the object of this letter is to engage your support to the subscription in that city, and other parts of the nation where it may be offered. I should not, however, do justice to Mr. Trumbull's talents and merits, were I barely to mention his views and wishes on this occasion.

His pieces, as far as they are executed, meet the

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warm applause of all, who have seen them. The greatness of the design, and the masterly execution of the work, equally interest the man of a capacious mind and the approving eye of the connoisseur. He has spared no pains in obtaining from the life the likenesses of those characters, French as well as American, who bore a conspicuous part in our revolution; and the success with which his efforts have been crowned will form no small part of the value of his pieces.

To you, my dear Sir, who knew Mr. Trumbull as a man and as an artist, it would perhaps have been hardly necessary to say so much as I have done on this occasion. But I could not in justice say less of him, when I believe, in his profession, he will do much honor to the liberal art of painting, as well as credit to this his native country.

I cannot conclude this letter without congratulating you most sincerely on the King's acceptance of the constitution, presented to him by the National Assembly, and upon the happy consequences, which promise to flow upon your country as well as to mankind in general from that event. The prayers and wishes of the friends of the human race have attended the exertions of your nation; and when your affairs are completely settled, under an energetic and equal government, the hearts of good men will be gratified, and no one will rejoice in your felicity, and for the noble and disinterested part you have acted, more than your truly affectionate, &c.

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THE REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SPEECH OF CORNPLANTER, HALF-TOWN, AND GREAT-TREE, CHIEFS AND COUNSELLORS OF THE SENECA NATION OF INDIANS.

I, the President of the United States, by my own mouth, and by a written speech signed with my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the United States, speak to the Seneca nation, and desire their attention, and that they would keep this speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States.

I have received your speech with satisfaction, as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States, and I have attentively examined the several objects, which you have laid before me, whether delivered by your chiefs at Tioga Point in the last month to Colonel Pickering, or laid before me in the present month by Cornplanter and the other Seneca chiefs now in Philadelphia.

In the first place I observe to you, and I request it may sink deep in your minds, that it is my desire, and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten and buried for ever; that in future the United States and the Six Nations should be truly brothers, promoting each other's prosperity by acts of mutual justice and friendship.

I am not uninformed, that the Six Nations have been led into some difficulties with respect to the sale of their lands since the peace. But I must inform you, that these arose before the present government of the United States was established, when the separate States and individuals under their authority undertook to treat with the Indian tribes respecting the

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sale of their lands. But the case is now entirely altered. The general government only has the power to treat with the Indian nations, and any treaty formed and held without its authority will not be binding.

Here then is the security for the remainder of your lands. No State nor person can purchase your lands unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. The general government will never consent to your being defrauded; but it will protect you in all your just rights. Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your nation, that the President of the United States declares, that the general government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the 22d of October, 1784, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold to persons properly authorized to purchase of you.

You complain, that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps have obtained your lands, assisted by Mr. Street of Niagara, and that they have not complied with their agreement. It appears, upon inquiry of the governor of New York, that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that every thing he did with you has been declared null and void; so that you may rest easy on that account.

But it does not appear from any proofs yet in the possession of government, that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you. If, however, you should have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons.

But your great object seems to be the security of your remaining lands, and I have therefore, upon this point, meant to be sufficiently strong and clear; that in future you cannot be defrauded of your lands;

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that you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell your lands; that, therefore, the sale of your lands in future will depend entirely upon yourselves; but that, when you may find it for your interest to sell any parts of your lands, the United States must be present by their agent, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make.

It will, however, be important, before you make any further sales of your land, that you should determine among yourselves who are the persons among you that shall give such conveyances thereof, as shall be binding upon your nation, and for ever preclude all disputes relative to the validity of the sale. Besides the beforementioned security for your land, you will perceive by the law of Congress, for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For the particular meaning of this law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof by Colonel Pickering at Tioga, which, with the law, are herewith delivered to you.

You have said in your speech, that the game is going away from you, and that you thought it the design of the Great Spirit that you should till the ground. But before you speak upon this subject, you want to know whether the United States mean to leave you any land to till.

You know now, that all the lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold, are yours, and that only your own act can convey them away. Speak, therefore, your wishes on the subject of tilling the ground. The United States will be happy to afford you every assistance in the only business, which will add to your numbers and happiness.

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The murders, that have been committed upon some of your people by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate; and I earnestly hope that the real murderers will be secured and punished as they deserve. This business has been sufficiently explained to you here by the governor of Pennsylvania, and by Colonel Pickering on behalf of the United States at Tioga. The Senecas may be assured, that the rewards offered for apprehending the murderers will be continued until they are secured for trial, and that, when they shall be apprehended, they will be tried and punished as if they had killed white men.

Having answered the most material parts of your speech, I shall inform you, that some bad Indians, and the outcasts of several tribes, who reside at the Miami Village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio; that they have not only refused to listen to my voice inviting them to peace, but that, upon receiving it, they renewed their incursions and murders with greater violence than ever. I have therefore been obliged to strike those bad people, in order to make them sensible of their madness. I sincerely hope they will harken to reason, and not require to be further chastised.

The United States desire to be the friends of the Indians upon terms of justice and humanity, but they will not suffer the depredations of bad people to go unpunished. My desire is, that you would caution all the Senecas and Six Nations to prevent their rash young men from joining the Miami Indians; for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong, and every tribe must take care of their own people.

The merits of Cornplanter, and his friendship for the

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United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten; and, as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the secretary of war to make him a present of two hundred and fifty dollars, either in money or goods, as Cornplanter shall like best. And he may depend upon the future care and kindness of the United States. And I have also directed the secretary of war to make suitable presents to the other chiefs present in Philadelphia; and also that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs now in their nation.

Remember my words, Senecas; continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as the only rational ground of your future happiness; and you may rely upon their kindness and protection. An agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place convenient to the Senecas and Six Nations. He will represent the United States. Apply to him on all occasions.

If any man brings you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy, for he will mean to deceive you, and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the United States, at the city of Philadelphia, this 29th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and in the fifteenth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.*

* A very interesting history of the treatment of the Indians in the United States, since the first settlement of the country, is contained in KENT's *Commentaries*, 2d edit. Vol. III. p. 376 *et seq.* See also BLUNT's *Historical Sketch*, &c.

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TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.

Private.

Philadelphia, 16 January, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th of November, and to express the satisfaction which I feel in finding you are disposed to go abroad in the public character which was suggested to you.

The secretary of state will give you the official information of your appointment to the court of London; and I am pleased that the public service will allow you such time as may be necessary for you to make arrangements for your departure, and permit you to take your passage in a pleasant and safe season of the year.

To a sincere desire, that your exertions for the public good may be crowned with the fullest success, permit me to add my best wishes for the welfare and happiness of your family, and to assure you, that I am, with sincere regard, dear Sir, &c.

TO JAMES WILSON.*

Private.

Philadelphia, 23 January, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

Your goodness will, I am persuaded, excuse my not giving an earlier consideration to the subject, which you presented to my view in your letter of the 31st ultimo. A variety of occurrences, some of them not

* One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

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very pleasing, have happened since that period to absorb my attention.

My opinion with respect to the advantages, which would result from such a *Digest of Laws* as was suggested by you, is the same now, that it was at the time we conversed on the expediency of drawing a line between the powers of the general and State governments, with a view to avoid those evils, which otherwise might result from a contention. But, from the best consideration my leisure has enabled me to bestow on the subject, I question much whether the time is yet arrived, the necessity so generally apparent, or the temper of Congress so well framed for these things, as to render such a proposition acceptable. And I doubt still more, whether at any time its coming from the executive would be the most auspicious mode of bringing it forward; as it might be construed into an implication of want of discernment in that body to foresee the utility of, or of abilities to execute or to direct a measure of so much importance. I am, with very great esteem and regard, &c.

TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Private.

Philadelphia, 28 January, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 30th of September came duly to hand, and I thank you for the important information contained in it.

The official communications from the secretary of state, accompanying this letter, will convey to you the evidence of my nomination and appointment of you to be minister plenipotentiary for the United States at the

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court of France; and my assurance, that both were made with *all my heart*, will, I am persuaded, satisfy you as to that fact. I wish I could add, that the advice and *consent* flowed from a similar source. Candor forbids it, and friendship requires, that I should assign the causes, as far as they have come to my knowledge.

Whilst your abilities, knowledge in the affairs of this country, and disposition to serve it, were adduced and asserted on one hand; you were charged, on the other hand, with levity and imprudence of conversation and conduct. It was urged, that your habits of expression indicated a *hauteur* disgusting to those, who happen to differ from you in sentiment; and among a people, who study civility and politeness more than any other nation, it must be displeasing; that in France you were considered as a favorer of aristocracy, and unfriendly to its revolution (I suppose they meant *constitution*); that, under this impression, you could not be an acceptable public character, and of consequence would not be able, however willing, to promote the interest of this country in an essential degree; that in England you indiscreetly communicated the purport of your mission in the first instance to the minister of France, at that court, who, availing himself in the same moment of the occasion, gave it the appearance of a movement through his court; that this, and other circumstances of a similar nature, added to a close intercourse with the opposition members, occasioned distrust, and gave displeasure to the ministry, which was the cause, it is said, of that reserve which you experienced in negotiating the business, which had been intrusted to you.

But not to go further into detail, I will place the ideas of your political adversaries in the light, in which their

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arguments have presented them to me, namely, that the promptitude, with which your lively and brilliant imagination is displayed, allows too little time for deliberation and correction, and is the primary cause of those sallies, which too often offend, and of that ridicule of characters, which begets enmity not easy to be forgotten, but which might easily be avoided, if it was under the control of more caution and prudence; in a word, that it is indispensably necessary, that more circumspection should be observed by our representatives abroad, than they conceive you are inclined to adopt.

In this statement you have the *pros* and *cons*. By reciting them I give you a proof of my friendship, if I give you none of my policy or judgment. I do it on the presumption, that a mind, conscious of its own rectitude, fears not what is said of it, will bid defiance to and despise shafts, that are not barbed with accusations against honor or integrity; and because I have the fullest confidence, supposing the allegations to be well-founded in whole or part, that you would find no difficulty, being apprized of the exceptionable light in which they are viewed, and considering yourself as the representative of this country, to effect a change, and thereby silence, in the most unequivocal and satisfactory manner, your political opponents.

Of my good opinion, and of my friendship and regard, you may be assured, and that I am always your affectionate, &c.*

* See SPARKS's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. pp. 346, 369.

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TO CHARLES PINCKNEY, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Private.

Philadelphia, 31 January, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22d of November last, with the enclosures from General Pickens and Colonel Anderson to yourself, respecting the deputation from the Cherokee nation. I have likewise the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th of the same month.

The Cherokees arrived in this city after a tedious passage from Charleston, which I believe they will consider as the most, if not the only disagreeable circumstance attending their mission; for the requests, which they had to make, were of a nature to be readily complied with, and they appear not only satisfied, but highly pleased with their reception, and the manner in which their business has been done.

They have been detained here longer than was expected on their arrival, owing to the navigation of this river being totally obstructed, and that of New York harbour having been so for some days past by the severity of the weather. As soon as the harbour of New York opens, they will proceed to embark at that place for Charleston.

It is at all times very desirable, but peculiarly so at the present moment, that we should be upon terms of friendship and good understanding with those powerful tribes of Indians, who border on our southern and western frontiers; and I have strong hopes, that the favorable impression, which this deputation have received, will not only ensure the attachment of the Cherokees to the United States, but will likewise have

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a beneficial influence on the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Choctaws, from which nations they brought belts and messages, as well as from their own. For your attention to these Indians at Charleston, and in procuring them a passage to this place, permit me to offer you my thanks, and at the same time to assure you, that I am, with great regard and esteem, dear Sir, your obedient servant.

TO REUBEN SLAUGHTER.

Philadelphia, 25 February, 1792.

SIR,

I thank you for the information given me in your letter of the 21st of November last, of your claiming two hundred acres of the land within the limits of my survey on the Great Kenhawa, as it gives me an opportunity of letting you know my fixed determination to defend my title to all that land within the lines of my patent, and to warn you in the most pointed manner not to make any settlements thereon, or to exercise any other right of proprietorship within the limits of my patent.

It may be proper to inform you, that, in the year 1769 or 1770, there was a special order of the Governor and Council of Virginia for reserving all the lands on the Great Kenhawa, to satisfy the military claims of myself and others of the first Virginia regiment; that in 1770 I was myself on the Great Kenhawa with the surveyor to look out the land for the military claims; and that my patent for the tract you speak of has been in my possession many years. I cannot therefore entertain the smallest doubt of the legality and validity of my title to every acre of land within the lines of that

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patent; and from a conviction of this I am resolved to defend it at all events, and to prosecute to the extremity of the law every encroachment, that may be made upon the boundaries of it. I therefore desire you will consider this letter as a solemn warning not to make any settlement, or exercise any other right of proprietorship, on any part of the land within the lines of my patent; assuring you, that if you should, after this warning, persevere in your intention of settling or otherwise encroaching upon my land, you must expect to be prosecuted as far as right and justice will admit. I am, Sir, your very humble servant.

TO GEORGE CLINTON, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

Confidential.

Philadelphia, 6 March, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 24th ultimo did not reach me till the 28th. You will not find it difficult to imagine, that, in the particular circumstances of your community at the existing juncture, I may have experienced embarrassment from the nature of different applications in relation to the office of supervisor; and you will, I trust, do justice to the motives, which have reluctantly prevented a compliance with your recommendation. After a careful attention to all the considerations, which would naturally enter into the subject, I have concluded to nominate the late chief justice of your State to the office.

This nomination has been unsolicited by that gentleman, or by any friend of his; nor have I any evidence, that it will be acceptable to him, or of his inclinations in the event which is pending. But, in adverting to his

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long and faithful public services, to his real sacrifices, and to his present, as I am informed, distressful retirement, I found a combination of strong inducements to direct my choice towards him.

I beg you to be assured of the sincere esteem and affectionate regard, with which I am, &c.

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Private.

Philadelphia, 11 March, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I am persuaded, that no one will be more ready than yourself to make the proper allowances for my not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of your friendly letter of the 23d of December, as you there express a conviction, that the pressure of my public duties will allow me but very little time to attend to my private correspondences. This is literally the truth, and to it must be imputed the lateness as well as the brevity of this letter.

The loss of the brave officers and men, who fell in the late unfortunate affair at the westward, is, I hope, the only one which the public sustain on the occasion, that cannot be readily repaired. The loss of these is not only painful to their friends, but it is a subject of serious regret to the public. It is not, however, our part to despond; we must pursue such measures as appear best calculated to retrieve our misfortune, and give a happy issue to the business. I am sure there never was a people, who had more reason to acknowledge a divine interposition in their affairs, than those of the United States; and I should be pained to believe, that they have forgotten that agency, which was

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so often manifested during our revolution, or that they failed to consider the omnipotence of that God, who is alone able to protect them.

Your friendly wishes for my happiness and prosperity are received with gratitude, and are sincerely reciprocated by, dear Sir, your affectionate, &c.*

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* The following remarks respecting St. Clair's defeat, contained in General Armstrong's letter, will have value as coming from the hero of Kittaning, who had distinguished himself in a warfare with Indians.

"Who could doubt, who knows the abilities of the first officers of that army, that the only successful mode of coping with Indians in a forest had not been preconcerted over and over long before that day. The partial or momentary advantage, gained by the flanking parties only as I apprehend with screwed bayonets, would easily discover the error of the former arrangement; but alas, it was then too late, either to devise a new one, or change the old for a better. Placing the militia in a body over the brook, permit me to say, was an unwarrantable step, where two or three small pickets would have served a better purpose. It seems probable, that too much attachment to regular or military rule, or a too great confidence in the artillery (which it seems formed part of the lines, and had a tendency to render the troops stationary), must have been the motives, which led to the adopted order of action. I call it adopted, because the General does not speak of having intended any other, whereby he presented a large and visible object, perhaps in close order too, to an enemy near enough to destroy, but from their known modes of action comparatively invisible; whereby we may readily infer, that five hundred Indians were fully sufficient to do us all the injury we have sustained, nor can I conceive them to have been many more. But tragical as the event has been, we have this consolation, that during the action our officers and troops discovered great bravery, and that the loss of a battle is not always the loss of the cause. In vain, however, may we expect success against our present adversaries, without taking a few lessons from them, which I thought Americans had learned long ago. The principles of their military action are rational, and therefore often successful. We must in a great degree take a similar method in order to counteract them.

"As the best of men are liable to mistakes, shall we lay all the blame of this heavy misfortune to the score of natural causes, and our half-surprised and mangled army? No, verily; for, if we do, the last error will be greater than the first. No, Sir; the people at large, in behalf of whom the action was brought on, are more essentially to blame, and lost the battle. An infatuating security seemed to pervade the minds of all men amongst us. We pondered not sufficiently the nature and importance of the object." — *December 23d*, 1791.

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TO CHARLES PINCKNEY, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Private.

Philadelphia, 17 March, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 8th of January, and their duplicates. That of a public nature, on the subject of a proposed application from yourself to the Governor of East Florida for the redelivery of certain fugitives, charged with having forged the indents assumed by the United States, will be answered by the Secretary of State. To your private favor I shall now reply. And in the first place, let me beg your acceptance of my thanks for the remembrance of, and kind attention to, my wishes in sending the box of seeds, which I have received by Captain Ort.

I am flattered by the regret, which you express at having been absent from Charleston during the stay of Lord Wycombe in that city, and being thereby deprived of an opportunity of paying the attention which you wished to that nobleman, to whom I had given a letter for you; and am glad that his intention of returning among you after having visited the Floridas will permit you to do it.

I must say that I lament the decision of your legislature upon the question of importing slaves after March, 1793. I was in hopes, that motives of policy as well as other good reasons, supported by the direful effects of slavery, which at this moment are presented, would have operated to produce a total prohibition of the importation of slaves, whenever the question came to be agitated in any State, that might be interested in the measure.

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Our misfortune at the westward is certainly a circumstance much to be regretted; but it affords consolation to know, that every public loss on that occasion may be readily repaired, except that of the lives of the brave officers and men, who fell in the conflict. I believe with you, that the absence of the Cherokee chiefs from their nation at so critical a moment was a fortunate event; and I trust they have received such impressions here, as will not fail to have a happy influence in their nation with regard to us.

If in the course of our military arrangements, it should be found compatible with the plan, which it is proposed to adopt, to require the services of General Pickens, I shall not be unmindful of your recommendation of that gentleman; and from his talents, knowledge, and influence, should look for the best effects. But I most sincerely join with you in hoping, that the war with the Indians may not extend so far to the southward, as to render your frontiers an object of immediate defence.* With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

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* *From Governor Pinckney's Letter.* — "Our legislature among other questions agitated the one respecting the future importation of slaves, as the prohibition expires in March, 1793. Great pains were used to effect a total prohibition; but, upon the question being taken in the Senate, it was lost by so decided a majority, that I think we may consider it as certain this State will, after March, 1793, import as largely as they ever did. It is a decision, upon the policy of which I confess I have my doubts.

"We have been much concerned at the intelligence lately received, respecting the defeat of the army by the northern and western Indians. The gentlemen on our frontiers now think, that it is fortunate the chiefs of the Cherokee nation are absent; as, from their disturbed situation and the successes of their neighbours, it might not have been a difficult thing to render them hostile. I must take the liberty to mention to you, that, if our affairs should still remain in the same unsettled state with the Indians, or their combinations extend to our frontiers, and render a defence there necessary, I know no man whom I ought to recommend to you so soon to be employed as General Pickens; a man at least as well

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

25 March, 1792.

The President of the United States has attentively considered the "Project of a Convention with the Spanish," which was submitted to him by the Secretary of State, and informs the Secretary, that the same meets his approbation. The President, however, thinks it proper to observe, that in perusing the beforementioned Project, some doubts arose in his mind as to the expediency of two points mentioned therein; the one relative to instituting a civil, instead of a criminal process against forgers, who generally, if not always, are possessed of little property; the other respecting the *unlimited* time in which a person may be liable to an action.

By expressing these queries, the President would not be understood as objecting to the points touched upon; he only wishes to draw the Secretary's further attention to them; and if he should upon reconsideration think it right for them to stand upon their present footing, the President acquiesces therein.

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qualified to manage a contest with the Indians as any in the Union. I consider it, as I observed, a duty to mention this gentleman to you, in case it should be necessary to employ any person from this State, in the event of the Indian war extending to the southward; because we are acquainted with his influence among the Indians, and his knowledge of their affairs, and know that his modesty is so great, that he rather wishes to retire from the public view, than court its favors or employments. As he will therefore never solicit or offer himself, it is a duty for us, who know his consequence among the southern Indians, to bring him forward to your view, should his services be necessary, which I hope will not be the case." — *Charleston, January 8th.*

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Philadelphia, 28 March, 1792.

SIR,

Your knowledge of the country northwest of the Ohio, and of the resources for an army in its vicinity, added to a full confidence in your military character founded on mature experience, induced my nomination of you to the command of the troops on the frontiers.

Your desire of rectifying any errors of the public opinion, relative to your conduct, by an investigation of a court of inquiry, is highly laudable, and would be readily complied with, were the measure practicable. But a total deficiency of officers in actual service, of competent rank to form a legal court for that purpose, precludes the power of gratifying your wishes on this occasion.

The intimation of your readiness to afford your successor all the information of which you are capable, although unnecessary for my personal conviction, must be regarded as an additional evidence of the goodness of your heart, and of your attachment to your country. I am, Sir, with esteem and regard, yours, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Philadelphia, 4 April, 1792.

SIR,

I have read and duly considered your letter of the 31st ultimo. The reasons you offer for retaining your commission, until an opportunity should be presented, if necessary, of investigating your conduct in every mode presented by law, would be conclusive with me

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under any other circumstances than the present. But the establishment of the troops allows only of one major-general. You have manifested your intention of retiring, and the essential interests of the public require, that your successor should be immediately appointed, in order to repair to the frontiers.

As the House of Representatives have been pleased to institute an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late expedition, I should hope an opportunity would thereby be afforded you of explaining your conduct in a manner satisfactory to the public and yourself.

I am, &c.

TO JOHN CARROLL.*

Philadelphia, 10 April, 1792.

SIR,

I have received and duly considered your memorial of the 20th ultimo, on the subject of instructing the Indians, within and contiguous to the United States, in the principles and duties of Christianity.

The war now existing between the United States and some tribes of the western Indians prevents, for the present, any interference of this nature with them. The Indians of the Five Nations are, in their religious concerns, under the immediate superintendence of the Reverend Mr. Kirkland; and those, who dwell in the eastern extremity of the United States, are, according to the best information that I can obtain, so situated as to be rather considered a part of the inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts than otherwise, and that State has always considered them as under its immediate

* Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. He resided at Baltimore.

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care and protection. Any application, therefore, relative to these Indians, for the purposes mentioned in your memorial, would seem most proper to be made to the government of Massachusetts. The original letters on this subject, which were submitted to my inspection, have been returned to Mr. Charles Carroll.

Impressed as I am with an opinion, that the most effectual means of securing the permanent attachment of our savage neighbours is to convince them that we are just, and to show them that a proper and friendly intercourse with us would be for our mutual advantage, I cannot conclude without giving you my thanks for your pious and benevolent wishes to effect this desirable end, upon the mild principles of religion and philanthropy. And, when a proper occasion shall offer, I have no doubt but such measures will be pursued, as may seem best calculated to communicate liberal instruction, and the blessings of society, to their untutored minds. With very great esteem and regard,

I am, Sir, &c.

TO THE EARL OF BUCHAN.

Philadelphia, 1 May, 1792.

MY LORD,

I should have had the honor of acknowledging sooner the receipt of your letter of the 28th of June last, had I not concluded to defer doing it till I could announce to you the transmission of my portrait, which has been just finished by Mr. Robertson, of New York, who has also undertaken to forward it.* The manner of the execution does no discredit, I am told, to the artist, of

* This portrait had been solicited by the Earl of Buchan.

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whose skill favorable mention has been made to me. I was further induced to intrust the execution to Mr. Robertson, from his having informed me, that he had drawn others for your Lordship, and knew the size which would best suit your collection.

I accept with sensibility and with satisfaction the significant present of the box, which accompanied your Lordship's letter. In yielding the tribute due from every lover of mankind to the patriotic and heroic virtues of which it is commemorative, I estimate, as I ought, the additional value which it derives from the hand that sent it, and my obligation for the sentiments that induced the transfer.

I will, however, ask, that you will exempt me from a compliance with the request relating to its eventual destination. In an attempt to execute your wish in this particular, I should feel embarrassment from a just comparison of relative pretensions, and should fear to risk injustice by so marked a preference. With sentiments of the truest esteem and consideration, I remain your Lordship's, &c.*

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* The box here alluded to was made of the oak that sheltered William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk. The following account of it is given in a letter from the Earl of Buchan, written subsequently to the one which was brought by Mr. Robertson.

"Sir; some time ago I did myself the pleasure to transmit to you by Mr. Robertson, of Aberdeen, a testimony of my sincere respect, contained in a box made of the oak, which sheltered our great Wallace after his defeat at Falkirk; which box was cut out of the tree by the proprietor and sent to the Corporation of Goldsmiths at Edinburgh, and by them presented to me with the freedom of their Company in the box abovementioned, and which I hope you will receive. It is a respectable curiosity, and will, I flatter myself, be a relic of long endurance in America, as a mark of that esteem with which I have the honor to be," &c. — *Dryburgh Abbey, September 15th*, 1791.

The Company of Goldsmiths had signified to the Earl of Buchan their approbation of the manner in which he proposed to dispose of the box. He accompanied the gift with the request, that Washington, in

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TO WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

Philadelphia, 5 May, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of last month, and the seeds you had the goodness to send me by Mr. Pinckney. The plants and trees, which arrived at Norfolk, have reached Mount Vernon in pretty good order. My thanks and acknowledgments are due to you, my dear Sir, for the kind attention which you have paid to my wishes with respect to the seeds and plants. You must likewise accept of them for the detail which you have been so good as to give, of the mode of carrying on a war against the Indians, and the clothing of the troops to be employed in that service.

The first wish of the United States, with respect to the Indians, is, to be at peace with them all, and to cultivate a good understanding, to our mutual benefit. As we have not been able to obtain this without the effusion of blood, the next wish is, to pursue such measures as may terminate the hostilities in the speediest manner, and most for the honor and interest of

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the event of his decease, would transmit it to the man in his own country, who should appear in his judgment to merit it best. This circumstance explains the closing paragraph of Washington's letter.

The box was ultimately returned to the Earl of Buchan, as appears by the following extract from Washington's *Will*. After reciting the terms on which it had been presented to him, he added in the Will; "Whether easy or not to select *the man*, who might comport with his Lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving, that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths' Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me, I do give and bequeath the same to his Lordship, and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favorable sentiments which accompanied it."

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the United States. Observations, therefore, which are founded in experience, tending to effect this, cannot but merit the thanks of those, who have the management of public affairs. I am much pleased to hear, that the picture by Colonel Trumbull gives so much satisfaction. The merit of this artist cannot fail to give much pleasure to those of his countrymen, who possess a taste for the fine arts; and I know of no part of the United States, where it would be put to a stronger test than in South Carolina. With sincere regard, and best wishes for your health and happiness,

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS PAINE.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

To my friends, and those who know my occupations, I am sure no apology is necessary for keeping their letters so much longer unanswered, than my inclination would lead me to do. I shall therefore offer no excuse for not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 21st of June. My thanks, however, for the token of your remembrance, in the fifty copies of "*The Rights of Man*," are offered with no less cordiality, than they would have been, had I answered your letter in the first moment of receiving it.*

* *From Mr. Paine's Letter.* — "I received your favor of last August by Colonel Humphreys, since which I have not written to or heard from you. I mention this, that you may know no letters have miscarried. I took the liberty of addressing my late work, "*The Rights of Man*," to you; but though I left it, at that time, to find its way to you, I now request your acceptance of fifty copies as a token of remembrance to yourself and my friends. The work has had a run beyond any thing that has been published in this country on the subject of government, and

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The duties of my office, which at all times, especially during the session of Congress, require an unremitting attention, naturally become more pressing towards the close of it; and as that body have resolved to rise to-morrow, and as I have determined, in case they should, to set out for Mount Vernon on the next day, you will readily conclude, that the present is a busy moment with me; and to that I am persuaded your goodness will impute my not entering into the several points touched upon in your letter. Let it suffice, therefore, at this time, to say, that I rejoice in the information of your personal prosperity, and, as no one can feel a

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the demand continues. In Ireland it has had a much greater. A letter I received from Dublin, 10th of May, mentioned that the fourth edition was then on sale. I know not what number of copies were printed at each edition, except the second, which was ten thousand. The same fate follows me here as I *at first* experienced in America, strong friends and violent enemies; but, as I have got the ear of the country, I shall go on, and at least show them, what is a novelty here, that there can be a person beyond the reach of corruption.

"I arrived here from France about ten days ago. M. de Lafayette was well. The affairs of that country are verging to a new crisis, whether the government shall be monarchical and hereditary, or wholly representative. I think the latter opinion will very generally prevail in the end. On this question the people are much forwarder than the National Assembly.

"After the establishment of the American Revolution, it did not appear to me, that any object could arise great enough to engage me a second time. I began to feel myself happy in being quiet; but I now experience, that principle is not confined to time or place, and that the ardor of '76 is capable of renewing itself. I have another work in hand, which I intend shall be my last; for I long much to return to America.

"It is not natural that fame should wish for a rival; but the case is otherwise with me, for I do most sincerely wish there was some person in this country, that could usefully and successfully attract the public attention, and leave me with a satisfied mind to the enjoyment of quiet life; but it is painful to see errors and abuses, and sit down a senseless spectator. On this your own mind will interpret mine.

"I have printed sixteen thousand copies. When the whole are gone, of which there remain between three and four thousand, I shall then make a cheap edition, just sufficient to bring in the price of the printing and paper, as I did by COMMON SENSE."—*London, June 21st*, 1791.

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greater interest in the happiness of mankind than I do, that it is the first wish of my heart, that the enlightened policy of the present age may diffuse to all men those blessings, to which they are entitled, and lay the foundation of happiness for future generations. With great esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, I have received your letter of the 13th of February, with the twelve copies of your new work, which accompanied it, and for which you must accept my additional thanks.

TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 10 June, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

In the revolution of a great nation, we must not be surprised at the vicissitudes to which individuals are liable; and the changes they experience will always be in proportion to the weight of their public character. I was therefore not surprised, my dear Sir, at receiving your letter dated at Metz, which you had the goodness to write me on the 22d of January.* That personal

* *From Lafayette's Letter, dated at Head-Quarters, Metz, January 22d,* 1792. — "This is a very different date from that, which had announced to you my return to the sweets of private life; a situation hitherto not very familiar to me, but which, after fifteen revolutionary years, I had become quite fit to enjoy. I have given you an account of the quiet and rural mode of living I had adopted in the mountains where I was born, having there a good house, and a *late* manor, now unlorded into a large farm, with an English overseer for my instruction. I felt myself very happy among my neighbours, no more vassals to me nor any body, and had given to my wife and rising family the only quiet weeks they had enjoyed for a long time, when the threats and mad preparations of the refugees, and still more the countenance they had obtained in the dominions of our neighbours, induced the National Assembly and the King to adopt a more vigorous system, than had hitherto been the case.

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ease and private enjoyment are not your primary object, I well know; and, until peace and tranquillity are restored to your country upon permanent and honorable grounds, I was fully persuaded, that you could not be permitted long to enjoy that domestic retirement, into which you had fondly entered.

Since the commencement of your revolution, our attention has been drawn, with no small anxiety, almost to France alone; but at this moment Europe in general seems pregnant with great events, and, to whatever nation we turn our eyes, there appears to be more or less cause to believe, that an important change will take place at no very distant period. Those philanthropic spirits, who regard the happiness of mankind, are now watching the progress of things with the

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Three armies were formed, fifty thousand men each, *on paper*; the right and left under Luckner and Rochambeau, the centre under me.

"I had refused every public employment, that had been offered by the people, and still more had I denied my consent to my being appointed to any military command; but, when I saw our liberties and constitution were seriously threatened, and my services could be usefully employed in fighting for our old cause, I could no longer resist the wishes of my countrymen; and, as soon as the King's express reached my farm, I set out for Paris; from thence for this place; and I do not think it uninteresting to you, my dear General, to add, that I was everywhere on the road affectionately welcomed. Now the surrounding German princes have submitted to dismiss every armed corps of refugees, and to forbid recruiting, collecting, and equipping our noble deserters, so that the poor fellows are hunted by our ambassadors from one petty court to another. To cut this short, a formal application will be made to the Emperor and Diet of the empire at Ratisbon.

"But the most important part of our business is to know what part the great powers of Europe will act. That every one of them hates us is obvious; but, notwithstanding they would crush us to pieces, they are afraid to touch us, lest their subjects should catch what is called the *French evil*. We have boldly asked the Emperor for a categoric answer, by the 10th of February. A bill has passed, with the sanction of the King, declaring it infamy and high treason to listen to the proposal of any alteration whatsoever, or any negotiation, with respect to the principles or letter of the constitutional act."

See another letter from Lafayette in the APPENDIX, No. XI.

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greatest solicitude, and consider the events of the present crisis as fixing the fate of man. How great, how important, therefore, is the part, which the actors in this momentous scene have to perform! Not only the fate of millions of the present day depends upon them, but the happiness of posterity is involved in their decisions.

You, who are on the spot, cannot, I presume, determine when or where these great beginnings will terminate; and for us, at this distance, to pretend to give an opinion to that effect, would at least be deemed presumptuous. We are, however, anxious, that the horrors of war may be avoided if possible, and the rights of man so well understood, and so permanently fixed, that, while despotic oppression is avoided on the one hand, licentiousness may not be substituted for liberty, nor confusion take place of order, on the other. The just medium cannot be expected to be found in a moment. The first vibrations always go to the extremes; and cool reason, which can alone establish a permanent and equal government, is as little to be expected in the tumults of popular commotion, as an attention to the liberties of the people is to be found in the dark divan of a despotic tyrant.

I assure you, my dear Sir, I have not been a little anxious for your personal safety, and I have yet no grounds for removing that anxiety; but I have the consolation of believing, that, if you should fall, it will be in defence of that cause, which your heart tells you is just; and to the care of that Providence, whose interposition and protection we have so often experienced, do I cheerfully commit you and your nation, trusting that he will bring order out of confusion, and finally place things upon the ground on which they ought to stand.

The affairs of the United States still go on in a

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prosperous train. We increase daily in numbers and riches, and the people are blessed with the enjoyment of those rights, which alone can give security and happiness to a nation. The war with the Indians on our western frontier will, I hope, be terminated in the course of the present season, without further effusion of blood; but, in case the measures taken to promote a pacification should fail, such steps are pursued as must, I think, render the issue by the sword very unfavorable to them.

Soon after the rising of Congress I made a journey to Mount Vernon, from whence I returned but a few days ago, and expect, if nothing of a public nature should occur to detain me here, to go there again some time next month with Mrs. Washington and her two little grandchildren, where we shall continue till near the next meeting of Congress.

Your friends in this country are interested in your welfare, and frequently inquire about you with an anxiety that bespeaks a warm affection. I am afraid my nephew George, your old aid, will never have his health perfectly reëstablished. He has lately been attacked with the alarming symptom of spitting large quantities of blood; and the physicians give no hopes of a restoration, unless it can be effected by a change of air, and a total dereliction of business, to which he is too anxiously attentive. He will, if he should be taken from his family and friends, leave three fine children, two sons and a daughter. To the eldest of the boys he has given the name of Fayette; and a fine-looking child he is.

Hamilton, Knox, Jay, and Jefferson are well, and remember you with affection. Mrs. Washington desires to be presented to you in terms of friendship and warm regard; to which I add my most affectionate wishes and

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sincere prayers for your health and happiness, and request you to make the same acceptable to Madame de Lafayette and your children. I am, &c.

TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Private.

Philadelphia, 21 June, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since writing to you on the 28th of January, I have received your several favors of the 27th of December from Paris; 4th of February, 17th and 21st of March, and 6th and 10th of April from London. I thank you very much for the important and interesting information contained in several of these letters, particularly that of the 4th of February. If the last article which it comprises should in your judgment require an acknowledgment, I shall rely on your goodness to make it in suitable and respectful terms. You can be at no loss to discover the paragraph to which I allude.*

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* Relating to a message from the King and Queen of France, as communicated by Mr. Morris. He had been speaking of the political doings of the leaders in the French revolution. "The King and Queen," said he, "are wounded to the soul by these rash measures. They have, I believe, given all needful assurances to the Emperor and King of Spain. A confidential person has desired me to assure you on their behalf, that they are very far from wishing to change the system of French politics and abandon their old allies; and therefore, if any advantage is taken of the present advances to Britain, that you will consider them as originating merely in the madness of the moment; and not as proceeding from *them*, or as meeting with *their* approbation, *but the contrary*. I shall send this letter in such a way, as promises the greatest safety, and I must entreat you, my dear Sir, to destroy it for fear of accidents; you will feel how important it is to them, that this communication be not disclosed. It is merely personal from them to you, and expressive of sentiments, which can have no action until they have some authority."—SPARKS'S *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. II. p. 163.

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The plot thickens and developement must have begun; but what the final issue will be, lies too deep for human ken. I will hope for the best, without allowing myself to wander in the field of conjecture for the result. Your letters, though extremely interesting in point of information, require but little to be said in the way of reply. The accounts given therein will be treasured up, to be acted upon as circumstances will warrant, and as occasions may present. One thing, however, I must not pass over in silence, lest you should infer from it, that Mr. D. had authority for reporting, that the United States had asked the mediation of Great Britain to bring about a peace between them and the Indians. You may be fully assured, Sir, that such mediation never was asked, that the asking of it never was in contemplation, and I think I might go further and say, that it not only never will be asked, but would be rejected if offered. The United States will never have occasion, I hope, to ask for the interposition of that power, or any other, to establish peace within their own territory.

That it is the wish of that government to intermeddle, and bring this measure to pass, many concurrent circumstances (small indeed when considered singly) had left no doubt on my mind, before your letter of the 6th of April came to hand. What is there mentioned of the views of Mr. P., as well as of the assertions of Mr. D., is strong as "proof of Holy Writ" in confirmation of it.* The attempt has, however, in its

* *From Mr. Morris's Letter.* — "I was told yesterday, that Mr. Dundas has said, that the United States have asked for the mediation of this country to treat about a peace with the Indians. He told the same person, that the treaty made long since by Sir William Johnson seemed to be the proper ground on which to fix a boundary line between the United States and the Indian tribes. I learn these facts in such a way, that I am confident of their truth, and therefore submit them without any comment to your consideration." — *London, April 6th.*

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remotest movements been so scouted as to have retarded, if it has not entirely done away the idea; but I do not hesitate to give it to you, as my private and decided opinion, that it is to these interferences, and to the underhand support, which the Indians receive, notwithstanding the open disavowal of it, that all our difficulties with them may be imputed. We are essaying every means in our power to undeceive those hostile tribes, with respect to the disposition of this country towards them, and to convince them that we neither seek their extirpation, nor the occupancy of their lands, as they are taught to believe, except such of the latter as has been obtained by fair treaty, and purchase *bonâ fide* made and recognised by them in more instances than one. If they will not, after this explanation (if we can get at them to make it), listen to the voice of peace, the sword must decide the dispute; and we are, though very reluctantly, vigorously preparing to meet the event.

In the course of last winter, I had some of the chiefs of the Cherokees in this city, and in the spring I obtained, with some difficulty indeed, a full representation of the Six Nations to come hither. I have sent all of them away well satisfied, and fully convinced of the justice and good dispositions of this government towards the Indian nations generally. The latter, that is the Six Nations, who before appeared to be divided and distracted in their councils, have given strong assurances of their friendship, and have resolved to send a deputation of their tribes to the hostile Indians with an account of all that has passed, accompanying it with advice to them to desist from further hostilities. With difficulty still greater, I have brought the celebrated Captain Joseph Brant to this city, with a view to impress him also with the equitable intentions of this

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government towards all the nations of his color. He only arrived last night, and I am to give him an audience at twelve this day.

Nothing has, as yet, been hinted on this side of the water to any of the officers of government, of the other matter mentioned in your letter of the 6th of April, though suspicions of it have been entertained.*

Knowing from the letters of the Secretary of State to you, that you are advised in all matters of public concern, and will have transmitted to you the laws as they are enacted, and the gazettes as they are published, I shall not trouble you with a detail of domestic occurrences.

There can be but few things of a public nature likely to fall in your line, requiring to be acted upon by this government, that may not be freely communicated to the department to which it belongs; because in proceeding thereon the head of the department will necessarily be made acquainted therewith. But there may, nevertheless, be other matters, more remote in their consequences, of the utmost importance to be known, that not more than one intermediate person would be entrusted with. Here, necessity as well as propriety will confine you to a point. Cases, not altogether under the control of necessity, may also arise to render it advisable to do this, and your own judgment will be the best direction in these.

With much truth and affection, I am, &c.

* Suspicion that the death of the King of Sweden had been effected through the instrumentality of the Jacobins in France.

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TO JAMES ANDERSON.*

Philadelphia, 26 June, 1792.

SIR,

I had the pleasure a few days ago to receive your letter of the 28th of September, enclosing a letter from the Earl of Buchan, and accompanied with some seeds of the Swedish turnip, or *ruta baga*. At the same time I received from Mr. Campbell, a bookseller in New York, six volumes of *The Bee*,† which he informed me were transmitted by your direction. In your letter you mentioned having sent the first four volumes of *The Bee*, and the Earl mentions in his that he has sent me a set. I therefore conclude, that the six volumes which I have received are those mentioned by his Lordship, especially as the pamphlet on wool, by Sir John Sinclair, which you observed in your letter accompanied the books which you sent, was not with those which I received. I mention these circumstances in order, if there is any mistake in the transmission of the books, that it may be set right.

I feel no less grateful, Sir, for your polite attention, whether the books which I have received be those sent by yourself or by the Earl. I must beg your acceptance of my best thanks for the Swedish turnip seed, and the particular account which you were so good as to give me respecting it. As I have spent

* An eminent agricultural writer of Scotland. After Washington's death, he published a selection from his correspondence with him on agricultural subjects.

† A periodical magazine published weekly at Edinburgh, under the direction of Dr. Anderson. It was devoted to agriculture, politics, and miscellaneous topics. In the year 1776 Dr. Anderson published *Free Thoughts on the American Contest*; and in 1782 another tract, entitled *The Interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered*. He was likewise the author of numerous other works and essays on politics, rural economy, antiquities, philosophy, and literature.

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a great part of my life, and that not the least pleasing, in rural affairs, I am always obliged by receiving such communications or novelties in that way, as may tend to promote the system of husbandry in this country.

When you first determined upon publishing *The Bee*, the Earl of Buchan had the goodness to transmit to me the plan of the work, with which I was much pleased; and, from the answer which I then gave to his Lordship's letter, I have considered myself as a subscriber to the publication, and must beg to be informed to whom, or in what manner, I shall cause payment to be made for it.

I have not yet had it in my power to peruse the volumes of *The Bee*, which I have received, but I promise myself much entertainment and information from them; for the extensive and liberal ground, upon which you appear to have undertaken the work, must make it interesting to the citizens of every country, and for your complete success in it you have my best wishes. I am, Sir, &c.

TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Private.

Philadelphia, 30 June, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 15th came duly to hand, but at a time when I was much engaged with the Secretary of State in despatching Mr. Pinckney to the court of London, and in considering other business of importance.

I shall repeat in this letter, what I have declared to you on a former occasion, namely, that, wishing to promote the public weal, and to make justice and

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impartiality the lines by which to walk to accomplish this, every information that can enable me to tread on such firm ground, or which would enable me to investigate with more accuracy the characters of public men, or the utility of public measures, cannot fail of being acceptable to me, whilst I have any thing to do with either, particularly the latter.*

* *From Governor Lee's Letter.* — "You cannot have forgotten a declaration, which you made at your own table just before your acceptance of the arduous station you enjoy, which then sunk deep into my heart, and never can be eradicated, namely, that a frank communication of the truth to you, respecting the public mind, would be ever received as the highest testimony of respect and attachment. Often have I wished to present you with evidences of my affection and devotion in conformity to the above declaration, since your return to public life; but, presuming that you might derive ample information from others, and distrusting my own inquiry and observations, I have heretofore silenced my desire. Nor indeed, for the same reasons, should I now commence the task, did it not appear to me indispensably necessary; for, if the information be accurate, you are deceived and abused by those in whom you place the highest confidence, and consequently your own character, as well as the public interest, may be submitted to derogation and injury. What one minister may have done on one occasion, may extend to all occasions and to all ministers.

"You cannot be a stranger to the extreme disgust, which the late appointment to the command of the army excited among all orders in this State. Whether the same be just or not, is immaterial at present; or whether taking into view all the circumstances of the case a better appointment could have been made, is by no means the object of my inquiry. The event was the subject of general conversation, during which period Colonel Darke visited Richmond, and of course became a party in the opinions and communications given on the occasion. What he said to me was in my judgment necessary to you, and I took the liberty to write to Colonel Darke, requesting him to commit to paper the conversation between us the previous day. This he did, and I enclose it for your perusal.

"I thought it proper to send you the original, although the handwriting is rather obscure, lest a copy might in any degree change the meaning of the communication. If Colonel Darke is right, it follows clearly, that, in a very important matter to yourself and the community, one of your officers exerted himself to increase certain difficulties, which obstructed the execution of your own wishes, instead of endeavouring to remove them; acting in obedience to his own desire, rather than following the decision of his superior. If your ministers dare thus to do, you must be

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Having premised these truths, I shall add, on the subject of your letter, that I can no more condemn G. K. on the evidence of Colonel D.'s letter to you, than I am disposed to go into a full vindication of his conduct against the implications, which are contained in

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subject to hourly impositions, and the national concerns will be regulated by their and not your judgment. I have not nor shall I lisp a word of this communication to the gentlemen whom it concerns. For yourself only it is intended. It is not in my power to ascertain whether the same be true or not. You can readily distinguish this fact. Colonel Darke is a man of truth and honor, and he speaks positively. You will, I trust, be the event as it may, impute my conduct to the motives which produce it, respect and attachment to yourself. Personally I do not feel on the occasion, only that I cannot dissemble the gratification, which the opinion you were pleased to express of my talents afforded; and indeed I am candid to declare, that I prefer such a testimonial to the office itself, to which I might have been appointed." — *Richmond, June 15th.*

From Colonel Darke's Letter to Governor Lee. — "In answer to your letter, concerning the conversation I had the honor to have with the President, as it was not of a private nature as far as it related to you, I will give as good an account as my memory will allow, as it could not be the President's desire that I should not. He mentioned you as commander-in-chief of the army, spoke much in favor of your abilities in so respectful a manner, that I thought you would certainly have been appointed. He indeed said something of your rank in the late Continental army, and asked me if I would serve, should you be appointed to the chief command; which question I did not answer, though I confess I think I should. But being so distressed in mind, for reasons that I need not mention to you, I did not give his Excellency an answer, but intended to do it before I left town, which I did not. Knowing he was much engaged in business of importance, I was in doubt he would think I intruded; at the same time was determined, if you had been appointed, to have gone with you and given you what little assistance I was capable of, or indeed any other of my acquaintance, that I thought equal to that great and important trust.

"The Secretary of War said something to me concerning my accepting of some appointment. I told him I first wanted to know who would command the army, and said something of you and some others. He let me understand some time after, that he thought I could not serve with you with propriety, honor, or words to that purpose, but that you would not be appointed. This I confess I thought General Knox might be mistaken in, as, from what I heard from the President, I had a right to expect you would." — *May 12th.*

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that letter. When assertion stands against assertion, recourse must be had to collateral circumstances to come at the truth, or the preponderating weight; but these are not necessary in the instance before us, for it will not be unfair to declare, that the conduct of Colonel D. is uncandid, and that his letter is equivocal. He acknowledges in it, that, when I asked if he would serve if you should be appointed to the chief command, he gave no answer; but does not in any part of his letter tell you what answer he gave G. K. to the same question, unless you take the following for one, when he was applied to, to know if he would accept of an appointment. "I told him I first wanted to know who would command the army, and said *something of you and some others.*" But are these equivocal expressions to be placed against the positive declarations of the other? Especially, too, when Colonel D., in relating the conversation which passed between himself and me, has mistaken both the substance and tendency of it. For you may be assured, Sir, I never mentioned your name, nor the name of any man living, to him as one who was in the smallest degree fixed on for the command. The Secretary of War himself was unacquainted with the final decision, when Colonel D. left this city. The truth is, I never was more embarrassed in any appointment; and the object of my conversation with the latter was, to learn the public sentiment, as far as it could be obtained from him, with respect to the matter. To questions of this tendency, he said he had heard Morgan, Scott, and yourself mentioned on his journey through and from Kentucky to his own house; and, if I understood the significancy of things not expressed, he comprehended himself. I took an occasion then to observe, that I conceived few men were better qualified for such a

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command than you were, and asked if he thought your junior rank in the late army would be an objection with those, who had been your seniors in it, to serve under you. His reply, when a little pushed by bringing the case home to himself (for I wanted to draw an explicit declaration from him), was, that he believed it would be an unpleasant or grating thing, or words to that effect; but the manner, more than the expression, throughout the whole of the conversation, which was after dinner, and when we were alone, led me to conclude that it would not be relished by him. What his real intentions might be at that time, or when he was speaking to G. K., or lastly to you, no one but himself is master of.

I have no hesitation in declaring to you, that the bias of my inclination was strongly in your favor; but that the result of my inquiries, direct and indirect, of military and indeed of other characters, who were well disposed to see you in nomination, was, that, if you were appointed to the command, it would be vain to look for senior officers to act subordinately, or, if they consented, it would be so grudgingly as that more than probably the seeds of sedition would be coeval with the formation of the army, such being the nature of military pride. Admitting this, then, one of two things would inevitably have followed; either an army composed of discontented materials, or of junior characters. The first might be attended with fatal consequences; and as to the other, however excellent the officers might be, if any disaster should befall the army, it would instantly be ascribed to the inexperience of the principal officers in stations to which they had never been accustomed, thereby drawing a weight upon my shoulders too heavy to be borne. This was my own view of the subject, and the principle upon which I

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acted; not, be assured, because G. K. was of this or of that opinion. The fact, I sincerely believe, is, that he was as much puzzled as I was to fix on the first officer, under the circumstances that existed.

How far the appointment of G. W.* is a popular or an unpopular measure, is not for me to decide. It was not the determination of a moment, nor was it the effect of partiality or of influence; for no application (if that in any instance could have warped my judgment) was ever made in his behalf from any one, who could have thrown the weight of a feather into his scale, but because, under a full view of all circumstances, he appeared most eligible. To a person of your observation and intelligence it is unnecessary to remark, that an appointment, which may be unpopular in one place, and with one set of men, may not be so in another place, or with another set of men, and *vice versâ*; and that to attempt to please every body is the sure way to please nobody; because the attempt would be as idle, as the exertion would be impracticable. G. W. has many good points as an officer, and it is to be hoped, that time, reflection, good advice, and, above all, a due sense of the importance of the trust, which is committed to him, will correct his foibles, or cast a shade over them. With esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Philadelphia, 3 July, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 20th ultimo was presented to me yesterday by Mr. Williams, who as a professional man

* General Wayne, who had been appointed to the command of the western expedition as successor to General St. Clair, who had resigned.

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may or may not be, for aught I know, a luminary of the first magnitude. But to be frank, and I hope you will not be displeased with me for being so, I am so heartily tired of the attendance, which, from one cause or another has been given to these people, that it is now more than two years since I have resolved to sit no more for any of them, and have adhered to it, except in instances where it has been requested by public bodies, or for a particular purpose (not of the painters), and could not without offence be refused.

I have been led to make this resolution for another reason, besides the irksomeness of sitting and the time I lose by it, which is, that these productions have in my estimation been made use of as a sort of tax on individuals, by being engraved, and that badly, and hawked about or advertised for sale. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Private and Confidential.

Mount Vernon, 29 July, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have not yet received the new regulations of allowances to the surveyors or collectors of the duties on spirituous liquors; but this by the by. My present purpose is to write you a letter on a more interesting and important subject. I do it in strict confidence, and with frankness and freedom.

On my way home, and since my arrival here, I have endeavoured to learn from sensible and moderate men, known friends to the government, the sentiments which are entertained of public measures. These all agree,

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that the country is prosperous and happy, but they seem to be alarmed at that system of policy, and those interpretations of the constitution, which have taken place in Congress. Others less friendly, perhaps, to the government, and more disposed to arraign the conduct of its officers (among whom may be classed my neighbour and *quondam* friend Colonel M.),* go further, and enumerate a variety of matters, which, as well as I recollect, may be adduced under the following heads.

1. "That the public debt is greater than we can possibly pay, before other causes of adding new debt to it will occur; and that this has been artificially created by adding together the whole amount of the debtor and creditor sides of the accounts, instead of taking only their balances, which could have been paid off in a short time.

2. "That this accumulation of debt has taken for ever out of our power those easy sources of revenue, which, applied to the ordinary necessities and exigencies of government, would have answered them habitually, and covered us from habitual murmurings against taxes and tax-gatherers, reserving extraordinary calls for extraordinary occasions, which would animate the people to meet them.

3. "That, though the calls for money have been no greater than we must generally expect for the same or equivalent exigencies, yet we are already obliged to strain the *impost* till it produces clamor, and will produce evasion, and war on our own citizens to collect it; and even to resort to an *excise* law, of odious character with the people, partial in its operation, unproductive, unless enforced by arbitrary and vexatious means, and committing the authority of the govern-

* George Mason.

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ment in parts where resistance is most probable and coercion least practicable.

4. "They cite propositions in Congress, and suspect other projects on foot, still to increase the mass of the debt.

5. "They say, that by borrowing at two thirds of the interest we might have paid off the principal in two thirds of the time; but that from this we are precluded by its being made irredeemable but in small portions and at long terms.

6. "That this irredeemable quality was given to it for the avowed purpose of inviting its transfer to foreign countries.

7. "They predict, that this transfer of the principal, when completed, will occasion an exportation of three millions of dollars annually for the interest, a drain of coin, of which as there has been no example, no calculation can be made of its consequences.

8. "That the banishment of our coin will be completed by the creation of ten millions of paper money in the form of bank bills, now issuing into circulation.

9. "They think the ten or twelve per cent annual profit, paid to the lenders of this paper medium, is taken out of the pockets of the people, who would have had without interest the coin it is banishing.

10. "That all the capital employed in paper speculation is barren and useless, producing, like that on a gaming-table, no accession to itself, and is withdrawn from commerce and agriculture, where it would have produced an addition to the common mass.

11. "That it nourishes in our citizens habits of vice and idleness instead of industry and morality.

12. "That it has furnished effectual means of corrupting such a portion of the legislature, as turns the balance between the honest voters, whichever way it is directed.

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13. "That this corrupt squadron, deciding the voice of the legislature, have manifested their dispositions to get rid of the limitations imposed by the constitution on the general legislature; limitations, on the faith of which the States acceded to that instrument.

14. "That the ultimate object of all this is to prepare the way for a change, from the present republican form of government to that of a monarchy, of which the British constitution is to be the model.

15. "That this was contemplated in the Convention they say is no secret, because its partisans have made none of it. To effect it then was impracticable, but they are still eager after their object, and are predisposing every thing for its ultimate attainment.

16. "So many of them have got into the legislature, that, aided by the corrupt squadron of paper-dealers, who are at their devotion, they make a majority in both houses.

17. "The republican party, who wish to preserve the government in its present form, are fewer, even when joined by the two, three, or half-dozen anti-federalists, who, though they dare not avow it, are still opposed to any general government; but, being less so to a republican than a monarchical one, they naturally join those whom they think pursuing the less evil.

18. "Of all the mischiefs objected to the system of measures before mentioned, none, they add, is so afflicting and fatal to every honest hope, as the corruption of the legislature. As it was the earliest of these measures, it became the instrument for producing the rest, and will be the instrument of producing in future a king, lords, and commons, or whatever else those who direct it may choose. Withdrawn such a distance from the eye of their constituents, and these so

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dispersed as to be inaccessible to public information, and particularly to that of the conduct of their own representatives, they will form the worst government upon earth if the means of their corruption be not prevented.

19. "The only hope of safety, they say, hangs now on the numerous representation, which is to come forward the ensuing year; but, should the majority of the new members be still in the same principles with the present, show so much dereliction of republican government, and such a disposition to encroach upon or explain away the limited powers of the constitution in order to change it, it is not easy to conjecture what would be the result, nor what means would be resorted to for the correction of the evil. True wisdom, they acknowledge, should direct temperate and peaceable measures; but, they add, the division of sentiments and interest happens unfortunately to be so geographical, that no mortal can say that what is most wise and temperate would prevail against what is more easy and obvious. They declare they can contemplate no evil more incalculable, than the breaking of the Union into two or more parts; yet when they view the mass, which opposed the original coalescence, they consider that it lay chiefly in the southern quarter, and that the legislature have availed themselves of no occasion of allaying it, but, on the contrary, whenever northern and southern prejudices have come into conflict, the latter have been sacrificed and the former soothed.

20. "That the owners of the debt are in the southern, and the holders of it in the northern division.

21. "That the antifederal champions are now strengthened in argument by the fulfilment of their predictions, which has been brought about by the monarchical federalists themselves; who, having been

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for the new government merely as a stepping-stone to monarchy, have themselves adopted the very constructions of the constitution, of which, when advocating the acceptance before the tribunal of the people, they declared it unsusceptible; whilst the republican federalists, who espoused the same government for its intrinsic merits, are disarmed of their weapons, that which they denied as prophecy being now become true history. Who, therefore, can be sure, they ask, that these things may not proselyte the small number, which was wanting to place the majority on the other side? And this, they add, is the event at which they tremble." *

These, as well as my memory serves me, are the sentiments, which directly and indirectly have been disclosed to me. To obtain light and to pursue truth being my sole aim, and wishing to have before me explanations of, as well as the complaints on, measures, in which the public interest, harmony, and peace are so deeply concerned, and my public conduct so much involved, it is my request, and you would oblige me by furnishing me with your ideas upon the discontents here enumerated; and for this purpose I have thrown them into heads or sections, and numbered them, that those ideas may be applied to the correspondent numbers. Although I do not mean to hurry you in giving your thoughts on the occasion of this letter, yet, as soon as you can make it convenient to yourself, it would for more reasons than one be agreeable and very satisfactory to me.

The enclosure in your letter of the 16th was sent back to the post, after I received it, with my approving

* This summary is copied almost verbatim from a letter, which the writer had recently received from Mr. Jefferson. — See APPENDIX, No. XII.

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signature, and in a few days I will write to the purport mentioned in your letter of the 22d, both to the Secretary of War and yourself. At present all my business public and private is on my own shoulders; the two young gentlemen, who came home with me, being on visits to their friends, and my nephew, the Major, too much indisposed to afford me any aid.

With affectionate regard, I am, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 1 August, 1792.

SIR,

I learn with pleasure from the war office, by the Secretary's last despatches, that our northwestern frontier is in a state of tranquillity. It may be construed into an indication, that some of the messages, which have been sent by government, have reached the hostile tribes, and have occasioned them to deliberate thereon. Devoutly is it to be wished, that the result may be favorable, both for themselves and the United States.

No expectation of this, however, ought to suspend, or in the least degree relax, the preparations for war; but, as war under any circumstances is expensive, and, with such a long and rugged land transportation as the one by which we have to convey the supplies for the army, must for the quantum of them be extremely so, it behoves us to be as precise in all our arrangements, as economical in our provisions, as strict in our issues, and as correct in accounting for them to the war or treasury departments (as the case may happen to be), as possible. That I may know under what

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regulation these matters are, I have by this day's post written to the Secretary of War, desiring him to report to me the mode which is pursued by his direction from thence, for providing, transporting, issuing, and accounting for them. If the treasury department has an agency in any of these matters, I require a similar report from thence also.

Mr. Kean, by a letter which I have received from him, accepts his renewed commission for settling the accounts between the United States and the individual States, which, please to say to him, gives me pleasure; and add, that any efforts he can make to bring this business to a speedy and happy issue, I shall consider as rendering an important service to the Union; because I view the closing of the accounts speedily as extremely essential to its interest and tranquillity. Let me know if Mr. Langdon, the commissioner, is returned to his duty; and, in that case, when.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 1 August, 1792.

Sir,

Your despatches of the 14th and 21st ultimo came duly to hand; and it is probable the servant, who carries this letter to the post-office, will bring me a third of this week's date. I did not acknowledge the receipt of the first letter at an earlier date, because there was nothing contained in it, which required a reply; and I am too little acquainted with the authority, under which Colonel Henry Kerr detached Lieutenant-Colonel Phillips, or the cause or the object of that detachment, to form so good an opinion of the pro-

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priety of the measure, as it is easy for me to predict the probable consequences of it. I hope Major Gaither has before this embarked for that quarter, strongly impressed with the views of the general government, and the disposition of it to preserve peace, if it can be done upon just and honorable grounds.

The tranquillity, which, by your last accounts handed to me, prevails on our northwestern frontiers, gives me much satisfaction, and affords a pleasing prospect, that the exertions of government to bring the hostile Indian tribes into a pacific mood will not have been made in vain. This, however, is not to relax any preparation for a contrary event. Proceed as if war was inevitable; but do it, I entreat you, with all the economy which can result from system and good regulations. Our finances call for it, and, if these did not, our reputation does. The supplies of an army, through so long and rugged a land transportation, must under the best management be expensive; our attention, therefore, ought to be proportionate. That I may form some ideas of the former, I desire you would report to me the regulations, which you have adopted for providing, forwarding, and issuing them, and the mode of having them accounted for to the department of war. I have written to the Secretary of the Treasury for similar information on these points, so far as any of them may come within the purview of his department. Reiterate, in your letters to General Wayne, the necessity of employing the present calm in disciplining and training the troops under his command for the peculiar service for which they are destined. He is not to be sparing of powder and lead, in proper and reasonable quantities, to make the soldiers marksmen.

There is no propriety, that I can perceive, in giving

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the rank of brigadier to Major Sargent; nor do I conceive that General Wilkinson would, or indeed ought to relinquish his present command. I have turned this matter in my thoughts, but as yet have not been able to hit upon a character to my mind for the office of adjutant-general. I will think again and again on the subject, and will inform you of the result.

So long as the vice of drunkenness exists in the army, so long, I hope, ejections of those officers, who are found guilty of it, will continue; for that and gaming will debilitate and render unfit for active service any army whatsoever. I am, Sir, &c.

P. S. Would Major Fish accept the appointment of adjutant-general with the rank of lieutenant-colonel? He strikes me as an eligible character. Colonel Posey, also, who wants to be employed, might, if ready with his pen, make a good one; for, in other respects, and I do not know that he is deficient in this, he is said to be an excellent officer.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 5 August, 1792.

SIR,

Since the date of my last despatch to you of the 1st instant, I have received your letters of the 26th and 30th* ultimo, and have affixed my signature to the arrangement of compensations to the officers of inspection, in consequence of additional latitude given to the President of the United States by the act of

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* See this letter in the APPENDIX, No. XII.

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the last session, entitled "An act concerning the duties on spirits distilled within the United States."

I have done this on full conviction, that the best information the nature of the case would admit has been obtained at the treasury, to keep the aggregate within the limitations of the law, and to proportion the compensation to the services of the respective officers; presuming, also, that it appeared, from a full view of circumstances, and the benefits likely to be derived from the measure to the public, that an increase of the officers of revenue was really necessary; for I should be unwilling to add to the former establishment, unless the propriety of it was apparent. Unless the attorney-general should be of opinion, that the President of the United States has power, under the act of March, 1791, or the subsequent one of the last session, to appoint, in the recess of the Senate, an inspector of the survey newly instituted in Maryland, it must remain, as is proposed, under the immediate direction of the supervisor.

If, after these regulations are in operation, opposition to the due exercise of the collection is still experienced, and peaceable procedure is no longer effectual, the public interest and my duty will make it necessary to enforce the laws respecting this matter; and, however disagreeable this would be to me, it must nevertheless take place.

The collector was not at Baltimore when I passed through that place; but from the naval officer I learned, that the service would sustain no loss by the resignation of the master of the Maryland revenue cutter, that the first mate was a more competent character, and that the general expectation was, that he would be appointed to command it. That I might know how far the sentiments of others accorded with those of

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the naval officer, I requested the supervisor, Mr. Gale, to make inquiry, and to inform me of the result; but not having heard from him since, the first mate (his name I do not recollect) may be notified by you of my intention to commission him master, so soon as I am provided with commissions for that purpose. At present I have none. The same may be given to John Adams as first, and Benjamin Gunnison as second mate of the revenue cutter in New Hampshire; and to Ashur Cook as first, and John Fenley as second mate of the New York cutter. The third mate for the cutter may remain for further inquiry and consideration.

If your information, with respect to the proposed characters for the cutter in New Hampshire, is not such as you can entirely rely upon, Mr. Lear, who is on the spot, might afford you some aid in the investigation of them or others. I am, Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 5 August, 1792.

Sir,

Since writing to you on the first instant, your letters of the 28th and 31st of July have come to hand. The latter, containing an account of the fate of Major Trueman, fills me with deep concern. The circumstances with which it is related, unless fabricated to answer some purpose to us unknown, will not allow one to doubt the fact.* Nor do the accounts from the southward wear a much more agreeable aspect. Every exertion, therefore, on the part of the government must

* Major Trueman had been sent by General Wilkinson as a messenger of peace to the Indians, by whom he was murdered in a barbarous manner.

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be used to avert the evils of war, which seem to be impending, and, if this is found to be impracticable, to be prepared to meet the event with firmness and resolution; as a means to which, I hope the recruiting officers will double their diligence to obtain the men, and their vigilance to prevent desertion. The latter is shameful, and calls for vigorous pursuit and exemplary punishment.

I hope for and do earnestly exhort the utmost attention on the part of General Wayne, and the officers under him, to fit the men for the service they are intended for. It is indispensably necessary; and I beseech you to suffer no delays in forwarding the supplies, which are necessary for the army.

I wish Governor Blount may have been able to terminate the conferences, which he was to have had at Nashville about the 25th of last month with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, to the mutual advantage and satisfaction of all the parties concerned; but the difficulty of deciding between lawless settlers and greedy land speculators on one side, and the jealousy of the Indian nations and their banditti on the other, becomes more and more obvious every day; and these, from the interference of the Spaniards, if the reports we have be true, and other causes, which are too evident to require specification, add not a little to our embarrassments.

I flatter myself that Governor St. Clair will not forget, that there are duties, which require his attention in the territory committed to his care, although his presence at the trial of Ensign Morgan may not be necessary or proper. But if an important lawsuit claims his attendance in the State of Pennsylvania in September, and it can be dispensed with in his government, I would not wish to deprive him of the advantage of being present at the trial.

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The enclosed letter from people, styling themselves Oneidas or Onondagas, came to my hands on Friday last. It may not be amiss to make some inquiry into the matter; for oftentimes it is more easy to prevent an evil, than to redress it after it has happened.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 13 August, 1792.

SIR,

My last to you was dated the 5th instant, since which I have received your letters of the 4th, 5th, and 7th, and shall reply to such parts of them as appear to require it.

It is painful to find the recruiting service advancing so slowly as your last letters indicate. Endeavour to rouse the officers, who are engaged in this business, to fresh exertions. The unhappy fate of our messengers is a lamentable proof of Indian barbarity, and a strong evidence of the bad dispositions of at least some of their tribes.* This ought to stimulate every nerve to prepare for the worst.

If the banditti, which made the successful stroke on the station at Nashville, could be come at without involving disagreeable consequences with the tribes to which they respectively belong, an attempt to cut them off ought by all means to be encouraged. An enterprise judiciously concerted, and spiritedly executed, would be less expensive to the government, than

* Alluding to the case of Major Trueman; and also to that of Colonel Hardin, who had been sent as a messenger to the Indians, and was murdered by them. — MARSHALL'S *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II. p. 41. BUTLER'S *History of Kentucky*, p. 219.

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keeping up guards of militia, which will always be eluded in the attack, and never be overtaken in a pursuit.

No measures should be left unessayed to treat with the Wabash Indians; nor can the goods be better applied, than in effectuating this desirable purpose; but I think a person of more dignified character than Major H. should be employed in the negotiation. No idea of purchasing land from them ought to be admitted; for no treaty or other communications with the Indians have ever been satisfactory to them when this has been the subject. The principles and general outlines of all these treaties ought to be given to the negotiator, notwithstanding the right of disannulling is reserved to the government. Illiterate people are not easily made sensible of the propriety or policy of giving a power, and rejecting what is done under it. These may be contained in General Putnam's instructions.*

* General Rufus Putnam, who had been a valuable officer throughout the war of the revolution. He was among the first settlers in the north-western territory after the war. He had recently been appointed a brigadier-general in the army, it being the same rank that he held at the close of the revolution. The appointment was previously offered to Colonel Willett, who declined it, and who seems to have had scruples about fighting the Indians. "It has uniformly been my opinion," said he, in a letter to the President, "that the United States ought to avoid an Indian war. I have generally conceived this to be our wisest policy. The reasons alleged in support of the present Indian war have never brought conviction to my mind. From my knowledge and experience of these people, I am clear that it is not a difficult thing to preserve peace with them. That there are bad men among them, and that these will at times do acts, which deserve punishment, is very clear. But I hold, that to go to war is not the proper way to punish them. Most of the Indians, that I have had any knowledge of, are conceited and vain. By feeding their vanity you gain their good opinion; and this in time procures their esteem and affection. By conciliating their good-will you will render them susceptible of almost any impression. They are credulous, yet suspicious. They think a great deal, and have in general good notions of right and wrong. They frequently exhibit proofs of grateful minds; yet they are very revengeful. And though they are not free from chicanery

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General Putnam merits thanks, in my opinion, for his plan, and the sentiments he has delivered on what he conceives to be a proper mode of carrying on the war against the hostile nations of Indians; and I wish he would continue to furnish them without reserve in future. But in the present instance two reasons are so strongly opposed to the measure recommended by him, as to render it unadvisable and dangerous. One of which, the collision it might occasion, and the consequences thereof in the pending negotiation with Great Britain, he could not be acquainted with. The other, the inadequacy of our force to admit a division, and thereby running the hazard of being beaten in detail by encountering the enemy's whole strength with part of our own, is such as not to be overcome. The other reasons assigned by you are not without weight, but less in degree; for peace and war are now in the balance. Which will preponderate, remains to be known. If the latter, (which Heaven avert!) we must expect to encounter a powerful confederacy, and ought not to put any thing to hazard, which can be avoided by military foresight.

I can form no judgment of the object or propriety of establishing the post on the Muskingum, mentioned in General Putnam's letter to you of the 9th of July, as no copy of that letter has been sent to me. Equally unable am I to give any opinion on the speeches and

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and intrigue, yet, if their vanity is properly humored, and they are dealt justly by, it is no difficult matter to come to reasonable terms with them. The intercourse I have had with these people, the treatment I have myself received from them, and which I have known others to receive, make me an advocate for them. To fight with them would be the last thing I should desire." "The honor of fighting and beating Indians is what I do not aspire after. If in any way I could be instrumental in effecting and maintaining peace with them, it would be to me a source of great gratification." — *Life of Marinus Willett*, p. 116.

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wishes of Fish-carrier, as I know not the contents of them; twenty copies having accompanied the letter of General Chapin.

General Wilkinson has displayed great zeal and ability for the public weal since he came into service. His conduct carries strong marks of attention, activity, and spirit, and I wish him to know the favorable light in which it is viewed. With esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 15 August, 1792.

SIR,

This morning your letter of the 11th instant came to hand, but I have not as yet had time to read, much less to consider, the enclosures therein contained.

Mr. Seagrove's despatches of the 5th ultimo, enclosing a packet for you, were received at the same time; and about noon his other letter, of the 27th, was brought to me by express. The whole, as well those addressed to me, as the others directed to you, are sent forward under cover with this letter by the express who brought the last.

The extreme and dangerous illness of my nephew, Major Washington, who has an affection of the lungs, and for the last two or three days a violent and copious discharge of pure blood from them, by which he is so reduced as to be almost unable to speak, together with the letters and voluminous references accompanying them, places it out of my power at this moment to pass any sentiment upon Mr. Seagrove's despatches, by the bearer; but, as far as my memory and short notes will enable me to recollect the contents of them, it shall be done by the post on Monday.

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My reason for forwarding them without delay is, that you may, previous to the receipt of any sentiments of mine, give the several matters, contained in these despatches and his former communications, the consideration they merit, from a comprehensive and comparative view of the whole subject; and, as some parts of it are of an important and delicate nature, it is my request that the Secretary of the Treasury would also consider them attentively; that the proceedings thereon, and answers thereto, may be the result of our joint and deliberate thoughts. If the Secretary of State had been in Philadelphia, I should have called upon him also; for, if things be as they are stated in Mr. Seagrove's letters and the enclosures accompanying them, our affairs in that quarter are critically situated, as they respect the State of Georgia and the southern Indians, and the United States and the Spaniards.

At present, however, I shall add nothing further on these topics; and, with respect to your writing (as submitted in your letter of the 11th) to the governor of New York, concerning the complaint exhibited by the Oneidas or Onandagas (I am not certain which) against a trader that had been obtruded upon them, and committing the matter, and the regulation of the trade with the first of these tribes, to the governor of the State, I desire you to do in the premises as shall appear best, under a full view of the circumstances, and the law relating to the arrangement of the intercourse with the Indians; for, at present, they are not enough in my mind to enable me to give any precise directions concerning the reference.

Who is Mr. Rosencrantz? And under what authority has he attended the councils of the Indians at Buffalo Creek? Subordinate interferences must be absolutely interdicted, or counteraction of the measures of gov-

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ernment, perplexity, and confusion will inevitably ensue. No person should presume to speak to the Indians on business of a public nature, except those who derive their authority and receive their instructions from the war office for that purpose. With esteem and regard,

I am, Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 19 August, 1792.

SIR,

In my letter of the 15th, I promised you my sentiments on Mr. Seagrove's communications; and, though I am not enabled to do it so fully as I could wish, I shall nevertheless give them as fully as I can.

His letters, and the enclosures they contained, with the evidence in support, go to points which may be classed under six heads.

1. Spanish interferences to prevent the treaty between the United States and the Creek nation from being carried into effect. To accomplish which, these Indians, together with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws, are invited to a grand council at Pensacola; where, if they will attend, it is intimated to them, that they shall be furnished with arms, ammunition, and goods of all sorts. An agent of Spain, a Captain Oliver, who is established at Little Tellassee in the Creek nation, and supposed to be acting in concert with McGillivray, has *forbid* their running the line, that was established by treaty with these people, promising them the support of Spain against any measures, which may be pursued by the United States, in case of their refusal; and, in a word, aided by McGillivray and Panton, is stimulating all the southern Indians to acts of hostility

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against the United States; to facilitate which, he is distributing goods and holding talks with the chiefs. Three things, it is said, will be attempted at the proposed meeting at Pensacola.

First, to establish posts in the Indian country.

Secondly, to fix three agents amongst them, of whom McGillivray is to be the principal. And,

Thirdly, to exclude the citizens of the United States from having any trade with these Indians. To carry the whole of this plan into effect, it is further said, that five regiments of about six hundred men each, and a large quantity of ordnance and stores, are actually arrived from Old Spain, and the like number of troops are expected from Havana; and suspicions are alive, that the capture of Bowles was a preconcerted scheme between the Spanish government and himself.

2. The turbulent disposition of the settlers on the western frontier of Georgia, and their endeavours (as appears by the declaration of Colonel Alexander and others, which could be adduced,) to oppose the measures of the general government, and to bring on a war between the United States and the Creek nation; with the nefarious means practised by them to accomplish this project, the effect it has had upon the latter (who are afraid, though generally well-disposed towards the United States, and in all their public talks having given strong assurances of their intention to execute the treaty), and the attempts to induce them to meet at Rock Landing on the Oconee, in the vicinity of these characters.

3. His conditional engagement to meet the lower Creeks at the head of St. Mary's River in November next. His opinion, that, with more extensive powers, and a larger field to display them in, he should be able not only to counteract the unprovoked interference of

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the Spaniards, by keeping the Indians in our interest, but could even engage them to act for us, if circumstances should make it desirable; but, to do this, he must be furnished with goods, and be authorized to distribute them as occasion should require. That, but for his endeavours to support the authority of McGillivray, and to reinstate him in the good opinion of his nation, who began to see into his views, and nine tenths of it to despise him, this might have been in a more progressive state than it is at present.

4. The necessity of restricting the licenses of traders, and passes to people of other descriptions, who, under various pretences, but oftentimes with bad intentions, go into the Indian villages; and the expediency and the advantages, which would result from having proper forms for both, with checks to prevent counterfeits and impositions on the Indians.

5. The probable consequences of a severe drought to the Indians, and the policy of relieving them from impending famine.

6. The intemperance of Major Call; his improper conduct in raising three troops of horse, with promise of payment from the general government; leaving a party on the southwestern frontier of Georgia without an officer, or even a sergeant; and the agent's opinion of the necessity of a respectable force on the southwestern frontier of that State, and the little use of it in its present stations.

These heads, as well as I can recollect, contain the substance of Mr. Seagrove's communications, on which I give the following sentiments and observations.

1. The conduct of Spain in this business is so unprovoked by any event that has come to my knowledge, so mysterious, and so hostile in appearance, that, although the evidence is strong and corroborated by a

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variety of information through a variety of channels, and even confirmed by McGillivray himself, yet the mind can scarcely realize a procedure so base and inhuman, as the encouraging (not only without the exhibition of a complaint, but under professions of good neighbourhood and friendship towards us) a war, which must expose helpless women and children to the relentless fury of savages, and to the cruelties of the tomahawk and scalping-knife; but the evidence of their intrigues to set aside the treaty, to exclude the United States from having trade or intercourse with the southern Indians, will scarcely admit of a doubt; and there is but too much reason to suspect, that McGillivray has an agency in promoting these measures.

My opinion, therefore, is, that the commissioners of Spain, in Philadelphia, should be informed, delicately, and perhaps informally, until matters can be more fully investigated or developed, that, though we are ready to acquit the Spanish government of measures so unfriendly to the United States, yet the evidence of these proceedings in some of its officers is too strong to admit of a doubt, and of too important a nature to be passed over in silence; that it creates serious alarm in the minds of our citizens in the southern quarter, and gives much trouble to the government of the United States, which has no views incompatible with good faith towards Spain, and with justice and honor towards the Indians.

Something to this effect was written or spoken to these gentlemen by the Secretary of State, on the first representation of this matter from the southern agent for Indian affairs; but what notice was taken of it by them, or whether any, I do not recollect to have been informed. Inquiry, however, should be made; but, whether documents respecting it are to be found in

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his office, or are deposited among the private transactions in his own keeping, is uncertain. In the latter case no information can be obtained in time.

2. My opinion on this head is, that Governor Tellfair should be written to, and informed in delicate, but in firm and unequivocal terms, that the United States, from a concatenation of causes, are so delicately circumstanced as to render peace in the southern quarter indispensably necessary, if it be possible to preserve it upon just and honorable terms; that government has received information, unequivocal in its nature, of designs in some of the frontier inhabitants of Georgia, not only to *impede* but absolutely to *oppose* running the line, which was agreed upon as a boundary between that State and the Creeks; and of conduct, in some of them, tending to provoke war, rather than to promote peace with these Indians; that it was (and subsequent events have proved it) with great difficulty the boundary, then agreed on, could be obtained; that now it has become a law of the land, and, if the Indians can be prevailed on to carry it into execution, it must be enforced; and, lastly, to exhort him by every motive to peace and good order, that he would use his influence and address to prevent all turbulent and illegal proceedings in this behalf, as the consequences cannot fail to be distressing from a contrary conduct.

3. Although the opinions and propositions of the southern agent ought, in this case, to be received with a due degree of caution, inasmuch as he is removing the theatre of action from Rock Landing to his own or brother's store, at the head of the St. Mary's, covering thereby that frontier where his interest is more immediately affected; building his own consequence upon the ruins of another, as occasion and circumstances may require; acquiring a power to distribute goods,

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which, though they are limited and issued under certain restrictions, may nevertheless be abused; and investing himself with more ample power to act from the circumstances of the moment; I say, notwithstanding the liability to abuse in some or all of these cases, I am of opinion from the circumstances, which exist and press, and from the delay which would result from references, at the distance he is from the seat of the government, that he ought, as far as I have the power of doing it, to be instructed,

To hold a meeting with the Indian chiefs, at the time and place mentioned in his letter of the 27th ultimo.

That he should, under defined restrictions, have authority given him to distribute goods as circumstances and his own judgment shall dictate.

That he ought to counteract the nefarious schemes of Spain, by all the influence and address he is master of.

That if, upon further and more unequivocal proof, McGillivray's duplicity and treachery should appear more evident, he is, in that case, to destroy as far as it is in his power the consequence of that man in the Creek nation; and, as the most effectual step towards it, and serving the United States, to take, if he can, his place in the nation.

4. The propriety of this restrictive proposition is apparent, but to draw the line is difficult. To vest it *solely* (which I believe would be the least evil) with the Indian agents would increase their consequence amazingly, and would give them in a manner, if they are indirectly engaged in trade, a monopoly thereof, and of all other intercourse with the Indians; and, in the instance before us, would create much jealousy and disgust in the executive of the State of Georgia. Under this impression of my sentiments, decide as

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shall appear best upon a full view of the case. The idea of an engraving, with the proposed check, to prevent counterfeit passes and impositions, is a good thought, and merits adoption.

5. If the Indians should be reduced to the deplorable situation, which is apprehended, by an act of Providence, which human foresight is unable to avert, it is my opinion, that we ought, if they exhibit signs of good dispositions towards us, as well from motives of policy as those of humanity, to afford them relief. But the power of the executive to do this, the state of the treasury, the extent of the evil, and the consequences of giving to one nation and not to all, if it should be asked, are matters to be considered before any explicit assurance is given, that supplies will be granted.

6. There can be no doubt of the propriety of bringing Major Call before a general court-martial for his intemperate conduct, for the authorizing the raising of three troops of horse at the expense of the Union (unless as commanding officer he was instructed or empowered to do it, of which I have no recollection), and for leaving a party of soldiers on the southwestern frontier, without an officer, or even a sergeant, to command and provide for them.

As to the necessity of having a respectable force on the southwestern frontier of Georgia, and of the little use of those on the more western part of the State, no reasons are assigned for either by which a judgment can be formed; and, having no accurate map of that country with me, I am unable to give any other sentiment on either of these points, than that, for the reason which has been given under another head, this measure should be decided on with caution.

I do not give these opinions, or any one of them, as decisive, or as directions to be implicitly followed; be-

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cause that would render deliberation, and the request contained in my letter of the 15th, nugatory. They are given as crude and undigested first thoughts only, to be closely examined, compared, and combined with other information, which may be found in the public offices, and the letters and instructions drafted accordingly.

Let these, except the communication, if any, to the commissioners of Spain, pass through my hands unsealed. I am persuaded there will be no delay on account of disapprobation and consequent alterations. The express not expecting, as he says, to have proceeded further than Mount Vernon, will want a supply of money to take him back, to be accounted for with the Indian agent. He has already received two guineas from me.

I presume Mr. Seagrove would wish to be placed upon some more permanent establishment, with respect to his pay; but, if there be any doubt of my power to fix this, and to render his office more stable, matters, with assurances that his services will neither pass unnoticed nor unrewarded, must remain as they are until the meeting of Congress. And as he appears to have acted with zeal and intelligence, he ought to be informed of the satisfaction his conduct has given, and to be requested, in a particular and pointed manner, to have some one or more persons in whom entire confidence can be placed, as well in their ability as fidelity, to attend the meeting at Pensacola, to watch the motions of Oliver, and to be informed precisely and accurately of the Spanish movements in both East and West Florida. Money, reasonably bestowed, must not be spared to accomplish these objects.

What is become of the surveyor Ellicott, and what is proper to be done with him? He ought not to be

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retained in that country at a *certain* expense, awaiting a very *uncertain* event.

I did not think of it when I was writing my letter of the 15th, but now request, that the attorney-general may be called on to aid with his sentiments in the several matters, which are referred for your consideration and decision.

Not having thought of any character more eligible for adjutant-general than Major Fish, I request that he may be sounded, or even directly applied to. Should he be indisposed to the office, some other must be appointed without delay. With esteem and regard,

I am, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 22 August, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

In my letter of the 15th I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 11th; since which your despatches of the 16th are come to hand, and convey but a gloomy prospect of peace with the Indians, but show the necessity of preparing more vigorously if possible for the dernier resort. That the western Indians are stimulated to acts of hostility on one side, and every means used, which can be devised, to set aside the treaties, which exist between the southern Indians and the United States, and to encourage them to break with us, on the other, admits of no doubt in my mind; and that it may be a concerted plan between certain powers to check the growth of this rising country, is far from improbable, diabolical as it may seem.

The enclosure of General Putnam's letter of the 9th of July enables me, which I could not do before,

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to form some idea of his proposition to establish a post on the Muskingum; and, though I shall give no decided opinion on this particular case, my sentiments generally with respect to posts are not changed, and are shortly these; that, except for the preservation of stores, and the security of convoys upon a communication, they are of no use but to protect the people within them; for unless the garrison is of such strength, and can detach in such force, as to bid defiance to the enemy, it is always cooped up. Except for the purposes I have mentioned, of what advantage are Forts Hamilton, St. Clair, and Jefferson? The strength of stationary parties is soon discovered by the Indians, and, when discovered, they are liable to be cut off, unless they confine themselves solely to the defence of the post; and of what avail would this be on the Muskingum or elsewhere? Posts can be insulated or avoided at the option of the enemy in a covered country; but the best vigilance of the most cautious enemy cannot prevent scouting parties from falling on their trail. Besides, we shall never be respectable at any point, if the troops are divided and subdivided for the quietude of particular settlements or neighbourhoods; nor will they ever be disciplined and under due subordination, whilst they are scattered over the country in small parties under subaltern officers; except when they are employed in ranging, which is an essential part of their military education in the service for which they are designed.

If all the measures, which have been pursued by government to convince the hostile Indians of the just and honorable intentions of the United States towards them, should prove ineffectual, we may certainly calculate upon a powerful opposition from their combined force; in which case we shall not only be unprepared

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to penetrate their country this year, but there appears to me to be very little prospect of doing it early in the next, unless there be some stimulus to the recruiting service, and the officers absolutely restrained from enlisting improper men. I am told, notwithstanding the pointed instructions, which have been issued to them on this head, that boys in many instances, and the worst miscreants in others, are received; to the latter of which may be attributed the number of desertions, that are reported to the war office. Under this view of the matter, your intimation to General Wayne, respecting the Chickasaws and Choctaws, was prudent and proper; but I conceive, nevertheless, if a few of each southern nation, say six or eight respectable characters, were to visit and remain with the army as long as should be agreeable to themselves, be well fed and clothed, and in all respects treated with kindness and attention, it would be an effectual inducement to the coming of the number that might be required next year.

I perceive by Mr. Belli's* letter, that the difference between supplying the troops with their rations by contracts, and by a purchasing commissary, must be very great indeed, although he has not given the wages and other charges of the latter gentry. I am of opinion, that the difference in favor of the latter will be found, from the nature of things, much greater in the exterior than it would be in the interior country; and as the public pays for all lost provisions (by the enemy), and is at the expense of stores and guards, it is a matter worthy of serious investigation and consequent decision. Consult, therefore, with the Secretary of the Treasury, and act as in the result may appear best.

* Deputy quartermaster-general in the army.

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The hair must have stood on Major S.'s head, and a stake full in his view, when his letter of the 8th of July was writing to General Wilkinson, or the style of it would certainly have been varied. With esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 23 August, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letters of the 12th and 13th came duly to hand, as did that enclosing Mr. Blodget's plan of a *Capitol*. The latter I forwarded to the commissioners, and the enclosures of the two first are now returned to you.

I believe we are never to hear *from* Mr. Carmichael, nor *of* him, but through the medium of a third person. His —— I really do not know with what epithet to fill the blank, is, to me, amongst the most unaccountable of all unaccountable things! I wish much to hear of the arrival of Mr. Short at Madrid, and the result of their joint negotiations at that court, as we have fresh and much stronger representations from Mr. Seagrove of the extraordinary interference of the Spaniards in West Florida to prevent running the boundary line, which had been established by treaty between the United States and the Creeks; of their promising them support in case of their refusal; and of their endeavouring to disaffect the four southern tribes of Indians towards this country. In these projects Seagrove is convinced McGillivray and his partner Panton are embarked, and have become principal agents; and there are suspicions, he adds, that the capture of Bowles was a

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preconcerted measure between the said Bowles and the Spaniards. That the former is gone to Spain (and to Madrid I think) is certain. That McGillivray has removed from Little Tellassee to a place he has within or bordering on the Spanish line; that a Captain Oliver, a Frenchman, but an officer in a Spanish regiment at New Orleans, has taken his place at Tellassee, and is holding talks with the chiefs of the several towns in the nation; and that every exertion is making by the governor of West Florida to obtain a full and general meeting of the southern tribes at Pensacola, are facts that admit of no doubt. It is also affirmed, that five regiments of about six hundred men each, and a large quantity of ordnance and stores, arrived lately at New Orleans, and that the like number of regiments (but this can only be from report) was expected at the same place from Havana. Recent accounts from Arthur Campbell, I hope without much foundation, speak of very hostile dispositions in the lower Cherokees, and of great apprehension for the safety of Governor Blount and General Pickens, who had set out for the purpose of meeting with the Chickasaws and Choctaws at Nashville, and for the goods which were going down the Tennessee by water for that meeting.

Our accounts from the western Indians are not more favorable than those just mentioned. No doubt remains of their having put to death Major Trueman and Colonel Hardin, and the harbingers of their mission. The report from their grand council is, that war was, or soon would be, decided on, and that they will admit no flags. The meeting was numerous, and not yet dissolved, that we have been informed of. What influence our Indian agents may have at it, remains to be known. Hendricks left Buffalo Creek between the 18th and 20th of June, accompanied by two or

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three Indians of the Six Nations. Some of the chiefs of those nations were to follow in a few days, only waiting, it was said, for the Caughnawaga Indians from Canada; and Captain Brant would not be long after them. If these attempts to disclose the just and pacific disposition of the United States to these people should also fail, there remains no alternative but the sword to decide the difference; and recruiting goes on heavily. If Spain is really intriguing with the southern Indians, as represented by Mr. Seagrove, I shall entertain strong suspicions that there is a very clear understanding in all this business between the courts of London and Madrid, and that it is calculated to check, as far as they can, the rapid increase, extension, and consequence of this country; for there cannot be a doubt of the wishes of the former, if we may judge from the conduct of its officers, to impede any *éclaircissement* of ours with the western Indians, and to embarrass our negotiations with them, any more than there is of their traders and some others, who are subject to their government, aiding and abetting them in acts of hostility.

How unfortunate, and how much to be regretted is it then, that, while we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies and insidious friends, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. The latter, to me, is the most serious, the most alarming, and the most afflicting of the two; and, without more charity for the opinions and acts of one another in governmental matters, or some more infallible criterion by which the truth of speculative opinions, before they have undergone the test of experience, are to be forejudged, than has yet fallen to the lot of fallibility, I believe it will be difficult, if not impracticable, to manage the reins of government, or to keep the parts

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of it together; for if, instead of laying our shoulders to the machine after measures are decided on, one pulls this way and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must inevitably be torn asunder; and in my opinion the fairest prospect of happiness and prosperity, that ever was presented to man, will be lost perhaps for ever.

My earnest wish and my fondest hope, therefore, is, that instead of wounding suspicions and irritating charges, there may be liberal allowances, mutual forbearances, and temporizing yieldings on all sides. Under the exercise of these, matters will go on smoothly, and, if possible, more prosperously. Without them, every thing must rub; the wheels of government will clog; our enemies will triumph, and, by throwing their weight into the disaffected scale, may accomplish the ruin of the goodly fabric we have been erecting.

I do not mean to apply this advice, or these observations, to any particular person or character. I have given them in the same general terms to other officers of the government; because the disagreements, which have arisen from difference of opinions, and the attacks, which have been made upon almost all the measures of government, and most of its executive officers, have for a long time past filled me with painful sensations, and cannot fail, I think, of producing unhappy consequences at home and abroad.*

The nature of Mr. Seagrove's communications was such, and the evidence in support of it so strongly corroborative, that I gave it as my sentiment to General Knox, that the commissioners of Spain ought to have the matter brought before them, in the manner it was before, but in stronger, though not in committing

* For Mr. Jefferson's answer, and a letter from Mr. Hamilton on the same subject, see APPENDIX, No. XIII.

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language; as the government was embarrassed, and its citizens in the southern States made uneasy by such proceedings, however unauthorized they might be by their court.

I pray you to note down, or rather to frame into paragraphs or sections, such matters as may occur to you as fit and proper for general communication at the opening of the next session of Congress, not only in the department of state, but on any other subject applicable to the occasion, that I may in due time have every thing before me. With sincere esteem and friendship, I am always your affectionate, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 26 August, 1792.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 17th instant, with its enclosures from General Wayne. Whatever General Wayne may require towards the equipment of his troops for the service for which they are designed, provided a compliance therewith be authorized by law, I think had better be granted. Powder in particular, precisely such as he desires, I would furnish him with, in order that there may be no room for complaint hereafter on that score. At the same time I must confess, that I am no friend to his proposal with respect to enlarging the touchholes; for part of the force of the powder must be expended that way, and when the musket gets a little foul, it may not communicate with the pan. It would certainly be better to employ a little more time in loading, where every shot ought to be well and deliberately aimed.

Orders or advertisements, which are intended to be

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put in the public gazettes, ought to be well weighed and digested before they are inserted, as they will not only appear in all parts of Europe, but may be handed to the enemy. To publish beyond the limits of the army, or the vicinity of it, the dastardly behaviour of one's own troops, is not a very pleasant thing.

Concerning his idea of having a brand, I have great doubts both as to the legality and policy of the measure. The bad impression it may make in the country may considerably outweigh the good effects it may produce in the army.

"Printed blank descriptions" is to me an *Irishism;* for the true meaning of which I am at a loss, and which requires an explanation. I am, Sir, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 26 August, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 18th, enclosing answers to certain objections communicated to you in my letter of the 29th ultimo, came duly to hand; and although I have not as yet, from a variety of causes, been able to give them the attentive reading I mean to bestow, I feel myself much obliged by the trouble you have taken to answer them; as I persuade myself, from the full manner in which you appear to have taken up the subject, that I shall receive both satisfaction and profit from the perusal.

Differences in political opinions are as unavoidable, as, to a certain point, they may perhaps be necessary; but it is exceedingly to be regretted, that subjects

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cannot be discussed with temper on the one hand, or decisions submitted to without having the motives, which led to them, improperly implicated on the other; and this regret borders on chagrin, when we find that men of abilities, zealous patriots, having the same *general* objects in view, and the same upright intentions to prosecute them, will not exercise more charity in deciding on the opinions and actions of one another. When matters get to such lengths, the natural inference is, that both sides have strained the cords beyond their bearing, and that a middle course would be found the best, until experience shall have decided on the right way, or (which is not to be expected, because it is denied to mortals) there shall be some infallible rule by which we could forejudge events.

Having premised these things, I would fain hope, that liberal allowances will be made for the political opinions of each other; and, instead of those wounding suspicions, and irritating charges, with which some of our gazettes are so strongly impregnated, and which cannot fail, if persevered in, of pushing matters to extremity, and thereby tearing the machine asunder, that there may be mutual forbearance and temporizing yielding *on all sides*. Without these, I do not see how the reins of government are to be managed, or how the Union of the States can be much longer preserved.

How unfortunate would it be, if a fabric so goodly, erected under so many providential circumstances, and in its first stages having acquired such respectability, should, from diversity of sentiments, or internal obstructions to some of the acts of government (for I cannot prevail on myself to believe, that these measures are as yet the deliberate acts of a determined party), be brought to the verge of dissolution. Melancholy thought! But, at the same time that it shows

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the consequences of diversified opinions, when pushed with too much tenacity, it exhibits evidence also of the necessity of accommodation, and of the propriety of adopting such healing measures as may restore harmony to the discordant members of the Union, and the governing powers of it.

I do not mean to apply this advice to any measures, which are passed, or to any particular character. I have given it in the same *general* terms to other officers of the government. My earnest wish is, that balsam may be poured into *all* the wounds, which have been given, to prevent them from gangrening, and from those fatal consequences, which the community may sustain if it is withheld. The friends of the Union must wish this. Those, who are not, but wish to see it rent, will be disappointed, and all things, I hope, will go well.*

We have learnt, through the medium of Mr. Harrison to Dr. Craik, that you have some thoughts of taking a trip this way. I felt pleasure at hearing it, and hope it is unnecessary to add, that it would be considerably increased by seeing you under this roof; for you may be assured of the sincere and affectionate regard of yours, &c.

P. S. I pray you to note down whatever may occur to you, not only in your own department, but other matters also of general import, that may be fit subjects for the speech at the opening of the ensuing session.†

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* See Mr. Hamilton's answer in the APPENDIX, No. XIII.

† The same request was made to the attorney-general, who said in reply, that he could discover nothing worthy of notice in his department, except the reform of the judiciary system, which embraced particulars too minute to be communicated by the executive. "And besides," said he, "Congress cannot forget the admonitions, which they have already

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TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 26 August, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

The purpose of this letter is merely to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 5th* and 13th instant, and to thank you for the information contained in both, without entering into the details of either.

With respect, however, to the interesting subject treated in that of the 5th, I can express but one sentiment at this time, and that is a wish, a devout one, that, whatever my ultimate determination shall be, it may be for the best. The subject never recurs to my mind but with additional poignancy; and, from the declining state of the health of my nephew, to whom my concerns of a domestic and private nature are entrusted, it comes with aggravated force. But as the All-wise Disposer of events has hitherto watched over

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received on this head. I am so deeply impressed with the dangers to which the government is exposed from this quarter, that it would be a happy circumstance, if they could be stimulated to the discussion. Were I to indulge myself in a *general review* of our political situation, I should probably repeat, without use, topics, which have presented themselves to your own mind, or which have been suggested more accurately by others, to whose departments they belong. I confess, indeed, that I feel at the present crisis these strong solicitudes; that the public be assured of stability in the *existing* fiscal arrangements; that the redemption of the public debt be commenced at no distant day; that the land office, if the hostility of the Indians will permit, be employed as one of the instruments of redemption; that the State governments be prohibited from intermeddling with the Indian tribes, to the utmost limit of the constitution; that some temporary mode be provided for the relief of many crippled soldiers, who must beg or starve, until the schism between the legislature and judiciary be established; and that the violence of the sanguine States, which may be disappointed on the final settlement of their accounts with the United States, may in some manner or other be softened." — *October 28th.*

* See this letter in the APPENDIX, No. XII.

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my steps, I trust, that, in the important one I may soon be called upon to take, he will mark the course so plainly, as that I cannot mistake the way. In full hope of this, I will take no measures for the present, that will not leave me at liberty to decide from circumstances, and the best lights I can obtain on the subject.

I shall be happy, in the mean time, to see a cessation of the abuses of public officers, and of almost every measure of government, with which some of the gazettes are so strongly impregnated; and which cannot fail, if persevered in with the malignancy with which they now teem, of rending the Union asunder. The seeds of discontent, distrust, and irritation, which are so plentifully sown, can scarcely fail to produce this effect, and to mar that prospect of happiness, which perhaps never beamed with more effulgence upon any people under the sun; and this too at a time, when all Europe is gazing with admiration at the brightness of our prospects. And for what is all this? Among other things, to afford nuts for our transatlantic (what shall I call them?) foes.

In a word, if government and the officers of it are to be the constant theme for newspaper abuse, and this too without condescending to investigate the motives or the facts, it will be impossible, I conceive, for any man living to manage the helm or to keep the machine together. But I am running from my text, and therefore will only add assurances of the affectionate esteem and regard, with which I am, &c.

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 31 August, 1792.

SIR,

The enclosed letter was written agreeably to the date, but by an accident was omitted when my other letters were sent to the post-office on Monday last; since which till yesterday afternoon I have been absent from home.

On my return, amongst other letters I found the enclosed from the inspector of the fifth survey in the State of North Carolina. The picture drawn by him of the temper of the people in the district entrusted to his inspection is a very unpleasant and disagreeable one. It is forwarded for your consideration, and opinion of the measures necessary to be taken in the premises; particularly whether the governor of that State ought to be written to on the subject; and, in that case, to desire that you would draft a letter proper for the occasion.

Your letter of the 27th instant is also before me;*

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* *From Mr. Hamilton's Letter.* — "By the act of the last session, entitled 'An Act supplementary to the Act making Provision for the Debt of the United States,' authority is given to discharge the debts due to foreign officers out of the moneys, which the President is authorized to borrow by the act making provision for the debt of the United States.

"The sum authorized to be borrowed by the last mentioned act is 12,000,000 dollars. The whole amount of the foreign debt, exclusive of that due to foreign officers, was 11,710,378 dollars and 62 cents. The difference is 289,621 dollars and 38 cents, which is greater than the sum due to foreign officers by about 230,000 dollars. This debt being payable in Paris, and bearing an interest of six per cent, it is for the advantage of the United States to discharge it as soon as possible. The last loan will be a convenient fund for the purpose, and, if approved by the President, a part of it will be so applied.

"Should it appear to the President advisable to direct this payment,

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and my opinion on the points therein submitted is, that part of the loan lately obtained in Holland should be applied in discharge of the debt due to the foreign officers, agreeably to the act alluded to in your letter, and because the interest of the United States requires it to be done; and that it ought to be paid in a mode, which shall exempt the parties from the loss, which would attend the depreciation of *assignats*; without, however, occasioning loss to the United States. The former is an act of justice due to the officers, and the latter an act of prudence becoming the government.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 3 September, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you sincerely for the medicine you were so obliging as to send for my nephew, and for the sympathetic feeling you express for his situation. Poor fellow! Neither, I believe, will be of any avail. Present appearances indicate a speedy dissolution. He has not been able to leave his bed, except for a few moments to sit in an arm-chair, since the 14th or 15th of last month. The paroxysm of the disorder seems to be upon him, and death, or a favorable turn to it, must soon follow.

I pray you to turn your thoughts to the communi-

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a second question arises, namely, whether it shall be made in *assignats*, or in a mode which shall exempt the parties from the loss, which would attend the depreciation of those securities; without, however, occasioning loss to the United States. The last appears best to accord with the justice and reputation of the government." — *August 27th.*

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cations from the war department, which may be necessary for me to refer to at the opening of the next session; that such documents as shall be adjudged proper for the occasion may be prepared by that time for both Houses of Congress. And, if any thing else of a general nature should occur to you, I would thank you for noting it for consideration, that nothing proper may escape communication.

I learn, through the medium of a letter from the auditor to his father-in-law, Dr. Craik, that Colonel Hamilton has it in contemplation to visit this part of the country in the course of this or the beginning of next month. Should this event take place, and you could make it convenient to be of the party, it will be unnecessary I hope for me to say, that I should be very glad to see you under this roof. It is fair, however, to add, that this part of the country has experienced more sickness this summer, than is recollected to have happened for many years; first with the flux, and then with intermittent and remittent fevers. Happily, few deaths have been the consequence of either. The former is now over, but the latter is still prevalent. Both the French and British ministers talked of coming this way. Should they still continue in the same mind, I should be glad, if by indirect inquiries you could ascertain, and let me know the time or times (if they come separately) they may be expected. My present intention, if the peculiar situation into which my affairs are thrown by the illness of my nephew, will not necessarily delay it, is to take the sale of lots in the Federal City in my way to Philadelphia; and this sale is appointed to be on the 8th of October. I am, dear Sir, &c.

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TO JAMES SEAGROVE.

Mount Vernon, 4 September, 1792.

SIR,

It was necessary for the express, that brought your despatches to me, to proceed to the war office with my sentiments thereupon. Enclosed you have the result. To these I have nothing to add, but my entire approbation of the zeal and intelligence with which you have conducted matters with the Creek Indians, my good wishes for the perfect restoration of your health, and my hope, that it may comport with your inclination and views to superintend that business, agreeably to the plan suggested by the Secretary of War.

As I do not perceive, that any mention is made of it in the letter from the Secretary of War to you, it may not be amiss to inform you, that one hundred dollars have been advanced to Mr. James Jordan, to defray the expenses of his journey, for which he must account to you. With esteem, I am, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 7 September, 1792.

SIR,

The last post brought me your letter of the 1st instant, with the enclosures respecting the disorderly conduct of the inhabitants of the western survey of the district of Pennsylvania, in opposing what is called the excise law; and the insults which have been offered by some of them to the officers, who have been appointed to collect the duties on distilled spirits agreeably thereto.

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Such conduct in any of the citizens of the United States, under any circumstances that can well be conceived, would be exceedingly reprehensible; but, when it comes from a part of the community for whose protection the money arising from the tax was principally designed, it is truly unaccountable, and the spirit of it must be regretted.

The preliminary steps taken by you in ordering the supervisor of the district to repair to the survey, where these disorders prevail, with a view to ascertain in person "the true state of the survey, to collect evidence respecting the violences that have been committed, in order to a prosecution of the offenders, to ascertain the particulars as to the meeting which appears to have been held at Pittsburg, to encourage the perseverance of the officers in their duty, and the well-disposed inhabitants in discountenancing such violent proceedings," are prudent and proper, and I earnestly wish they may have the desired effect. But if, notwithstanding, opposition is still given to the due execution of the law, I have no hesitation in declaring, if the evidence of it is clear and unequivocal, that I shall, however reluctantly I exercise them, exert all the legal powers with which the executive is invested to check so daring and unwarrantable a spirit. It is my duty to see the laws executed. To permit them to be trampled upon with impunity would be repugnant to it; nor can the government longer remain a passive spectator of the contempt, with which they are treated. Forbearance, under a hope that the inhabitants of that survey would recover from the delirium and folly into which they were plunged, seems to have had no other effect than to increase the disorder.

If it shall be the attorney-general's opinion, under a full consideration of the case (adverting, as I presume

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he will, as well to the laws and constitution of Pennsylvania, as to those of the United States), that the meeting, which appears to have been held at Pittsburg, was illegal, and the members of it indictable, and it shall further appear to you from such information as you may be able to obtain from a comparative view of all circumstances, that it would be proper to bring the matter before the circuit court to be held at Yorktown in October next, you have all the sanction and authority I can give to do it. I am, Sir, &c.*

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 7 September, 1792.

SIR,

Your letters of the 31st of August, and the 1st of the present month, have been duly received. The enclosures in the first for Governor Tellfair and Mr. Seagrove have been approved and forwarded. Those of the second I have read, but will give them a second and more attentive consideration before I express any decisive opinion upon General Wayne's plan for carrying on the war.

My first impression of it however is, that it differs immaterially, if in any thing, from the basis or principal features of the one that has been and now is pursuing; except in the establishing of a post on Big Beaver Creek, and in the two desultory strokes to be aimed at Sandusky and St. Joseph's. The latter will be right or wrong according to the actual state of things at those places at the time it is proposed to make them (to be ascertained from indubitable information), and

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* See APPENDIX, No. XIV.

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by a comparison of the hazard, which must be run, of failure, with the advantages to be gained in case of success. In all other respects, I see little more than the incidents and detail of the original plan; for, if all the pacific overtures are rejected by the hostile Indians, and the troops are neither in force nor discipline to make a forward movement the ensuing fall, it follows of course, that it must be delayed till the spring, and every exertion used, in the establishment of posts and magazines, for as early an expedition as high water and the state of the forage will permit at that period. If General Wayne has any doubt of this, and of his power to arrange and effectuate these, you have, I perceive by the copy of your letter to him, very properly removed it; and it is my wish and desire, that his exertion to accomplish the objects he has contemplated may be commensurate with the importance of them.

With respect to the proposition for establishing a magazine on Big Beaver, there is but one objection to it in my mind, admitting that it does not look forward to the event contemplated by General Wayne, and provided the position is judiciously chosen, and that is, the multiplication of posts; for it has for a great length of time been my opinion, that a strong post at that place would cover much more effectually the western frontier of Pennsylvania and the northern part of Virginia, than a post at Pittsburg. But habit, and the deep root the latter has taken, to which may be added its being a convenient deposit, and a place of more safety with a small garrison, on account of its inhabitants, than any other, have restrained my mentioning it before. But in case of a movement towards Sandusky, one there does in that design become important.

If, upon more mature consideration of the ideas

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submitted by General Wayne, I should find cause to change the sentiments herein expressed, the alterations shall be communicated in my next; if not, you will consider what I have here said as the substance of my opinion thereon.

Before the forage is purchased above for the posts below, it ought to be ascertained from whence, including the transportation to Fort Washington, it can be had cheapest. I have understood, as well from others, who are just from that country, as from the letter of Mr. Belli, that the crops of grain in Kentucky are astonishingly great. It would have an odd appearance, therefore, and I dare say would give much dissatisfaction to the people of that State, to have the forage carried down the river from the neighbourhood of Pittsburg, unless it is obtained on better terms than they will supply it.

A caution, both to General Wayne, and through him to General Wilkinson, ought to be given to guard effectually the hay at the outposts. Unless this is done, the Indians will most assuredly set fire to it; and to do it without having the stacks in the range of their defences, or as a cover to the approaches of the enemy, is no easy matter. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 15 September, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

This letter goes by express to obtain the signature of the Secretary of State to the enclosed proclamation. The reasons for sending it in this manner are, to avoid the circuitous route by Richmond, and the delay it might meet with by the post; it not having reached

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my hands until this morning, too late for the mail of this day, nor in time for any other before Tuesday next; and it is unknown to me when one will set out from Richmond for Charlottesville.*

If good is to result from the proclamation, no time is to be lost in issuing it, as the opposition to what is called the excise law in the western survey of the district of Pennsylvania is become too open, violent, and serious to be longer winked at by government, without prostrating its authority, and subjecting the executive to the charge of censurable inattention to the outrages which are threatened.

I have no doubt but that the measure I am about to take will be severely criticized; but I shall disregard any animadversions upon my conduct, when I am called upon by the nature of my office to discharge what I conceive to be a duty; and none is in my opinion more important than to carry the laws of the United States into effect.

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the attorney-general concur in the expediency of the proclamation, as forbearance seems to have produced no other effect than to spread the evil.

I have scored a few words, which possibly may as well be omitted; and, if upon attentive perusal of the draft others should appear, which you think might as well be expunged or altered, mark them in like manner with a pencil, and I will give due consideration thereto.

Your note of the 27th ultimo, with the enclosures to Mr. Taylor, was forwarded in the manner you desired by the first post after they came to my hands. With sincere and affectionate regard, I am, &c.

* Mr. Jefferson was at this time at Monticello.

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 16 September, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

Your private letter of the 11th, accompanying an official one of the 9th, came safe, as did your other private letter of the 9th, and I feel myself obliged by the observations contained in the first respecting the proclamation.*

As the former proclamations on similar occasions have been countersigned by the Secretary of State, I have for that reason, and for another which has some weight in my mind, thought it best not to depart in this instance from the precedent, which has been set; and therefore, as it cannot, unless unforeseen delays happen, be withheld from you more than six days longer than if it had been returned by this day's post, I despatched by express the proclamation to Mr. Jefferson for the purpose above mentioned.

I have no doubt that the proclamation will undergo many strictures; and, as the effect proposed may not be answered by it, it will be necessary to look forward in time to ulterior arrangements. And here not only the constitution and laws must strictly govern, but the employing of the regular troops be avoided, if it be possible to effect order without their aid; otherwise there would be a cry at once, "The cat is let out; we now see for what purpose an army was raised." Yet, if no other means will effectually answer, and the constitution and laws will authorize these, they must be used as the dernier resort.

If you remain in opinion, that it would be advisable

* See APPENDIX, No. XIV.

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for the President to transmit the proclamation to the governors of North and South Carolina, and to the governor of Pennsylvania, I pray you to draft such letters to them, to be forwarded from hence (with proclamations, which must also be sent to me), as you may think best calculated to produce the end proposed. I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 16 September, 1792.

Sir,

Your letter of the 8th with its enclosures came duly to hand, and requires but little in reply to it, as your answer to General Wayne's communications contains every direction, which is necessary for his government at this time. Whatever may be the attorney-general's opinion, with respect to the legality of calling out the militia by the governor of Pennsylvania for supplying the place of the rangers, it is not an easy matter, under the circumstances which now do and have existed during the summer, to discover any necessity for the measure, especially if the order was subsequent to your solution of his queries.

Captain Brant's letter, and the speech of the chiefs of the Six Nations to General Chapin, are no more than a continuation of the evidence, which long since has established a fact, and left no doubt in my mind of the causes to which all our difficulties with the western Indians are to be ascribed; and I am equally clear, that the period is not very distant, when this business will assume a less disguised appearance.

Have you received any answer yet from Major Fish, respecting the offer that was made to him of the of-

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fice of adjutant-general? This matter has been too long suspended.* With esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 24 September, 1792.

SIR,

Your letter of the 15th instant with its enclosures came duly to hand. It is exceedingly to be regretted, that all the attempts of government to bring the hostile Indians acquainted with the real designs of it, so far as it respects the disputes with them, should be so pointedly marked with misfortune, disappointment, or delay. Captain Brant's illness, and the sickness and delays of the other chiefs of the Six Nations, are inauspicious to a favorable result; for much is not to be expected from the single attempt of Captain Hendricks, however zealously he may labor in the cause of humanity and peace. As present appearances are so ominous of a continuation of the war, no pains or expense within the bounds of moderation ought to go unessayed to ascertain the nature, extent, and strength of the confederation, against which we are to contend, that our measures may be regulated accordingly. Without a competent knowledge of these facts we shall grope in the dark, and may meet disaster when danger is not expected. To this end General Wayne should be particularly instructed, and the Indian agents also; nor would it be amiss, if some expedient could be devised to obtain intelligence from Detroit, that the British accounts of these matters might be likewise known. From the nature and circumstances of this

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* Major Fish declined the appointment.

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war, good information is scarcely to be obtained, at least not to be relied on, but from a comparison of the intelligence, which is obtained through different channels.

In your letter to General Wayne of the 7th instant, a copy of which is among the enclosures you have forwarded to me, he is informed that you will "immediately write to the President of the United States, and request his orders on certain conditional statements relative to the proportion of troops, which it may probably be necessary to retain on the upper parts of the Ohio." No such statement is yet come to my hands. Of course I am unprovided with the means by which to form a judgment on this head; but, under my present view of the matter, and the uncertainty in which we seem to be of the final and positive result of the grand council of the Indians held at the Miami, the longer the decision is withheld the better; provided sufficient time is allowed the troops to cover themselves comfortably for the winter. And here, while it occurs, let me ask why the same kind of huts and mode of covering, that were adopted by the army in the last war, may not be again used, except permanent barracks for sufficient garrisons at the established posts? If scantling, brick, &c. are to be provided by the quartermaster, it will be attended with considerable expense, and, if for a temporary purpose only, this will be thought injudiciously incurred. Besides, how can this be done conveniently before the disposition of the troops is resolved on?

I am in sentiment with you, that sub-legionary paymasters and sub-legionary adjutants, the latter aided by the sergeant-majors, are competent to their respective duties without battalion officers of this description. At any rate, I conceive that the experiment ought to be made with the latter in the first instance.

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My observation on every employment in life is, that, wherever and whenever one person is found adequate to the discharge of a duty by close application thereto, it is worse executed by two persons, and scarcely done at all if three or more are employed therein; besides, as you have very properly observed, the danger of money is increased in proportion to the number of hands into which it is committed.

As Major Fish declines the office of adjutant-general, and Colonel Sproat, who I believe is on the spot, is willing to accept it, I have no objection to his entering on the duties, provided it is known that he is a man of liberal education and correct in his writing. Doubt of these qualifications in Colonel Posey is the only obstacle to my giving him a preference to any other.

I have no objection to Sergeants Dunn and Jones filling vacant ensigncies, if they have given sufficient evidence of their fitness; but, as there have been some impositions already in people of this class, I recommend strict caution in future. Richardson should be mentioned to General Wayne, that his behaviour may be noticed.

A likely young man in Alexandria, of the name of Turner, has been strongly recommended to me for an ensigncy. It is said, among other things in his favor, that a number of young country-born men would enlist under him. I have answered, Let him ascertain that fact, and then apply with the list of them.

If the evidence in the case of Ensign Morgan is all given in, it becomes proper he should be ordered to the army for his trial; and, if it is necessary in this case, and will not be establishing a bad precedent to do it in the name of the President, I have no objection to the measure. If discretion was a trait of this officer's character, or fairness the aim of his advisers,

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I should hope he would abandon the idea of presenting a memorial to be tried in Philadelphia, and that he would not hesitate a moment to go where he is ordered. If, however, the latter should happen, it would be well, before it is reported to me, to have him and his friends admonished in a friendly way of the consequences, that must follow disobedience; for neither the military nor civil government shall be trampled upon with impunity whilst I have the honor to be at the head of them. I have no objection to his being tried at Pittsburg, and if there are no reasons opposed to it, unknown to me, I would advise it. That it cannot happen in Philadelphia is certain. Military propriety, the public service, and the precedent such a measure would establish, are so strongly opposed to it, that it is wonderful he should ever have suffered the idea to enter into his mind. Why might not another officer, if indulgence was granted in this instance, apply for a similar one? Nay, why not to be carried to Boston, or Charleston, as inclination, or the expectation of benefits to be derived from it, might prompt.

I perceive by the copy of General Wayne's letter to you before mentioned, that there has been some remissness on the part of the contractors at Pittsburg. This ought not to be suffered in the smallest degree, for one neglect or omission is too apt to beget another, to the discontent of the troops and injury of the service; whereas a rigid exaction in every case checks a departure on their part from the contract in any; and no indulgence is ever allowed by them to the public. In a former letter, (led thereto by the observations of Mr. Belli) I requested that some consideration might be bestowed upon the mode suggested by him for supplying the troops by means of a commissary; but I have heard nothing from you on the subject since.

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The orders given to the officer, who commanded the escort of money, and to General Wayne respecting the supervisor, appear to have resulted from necessary precaution, and, if warranted by the constitution and laws, were undoubtedly proper, and of course are approved. With esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 28 September, 1792.

SIR,

I adhere to my resolution of commencing my journey for Philadelphia on the 8th of next month, if the condition of my servants will admit of it. Two of them, one a postilion, has been extremely ill with a remittent fever, which have not yet left them. My order for the carriage from Philadelphia, to be here by the 8th for my accommodation back, is not countermanded on this account.

But as my journey may be delayed something longer than was expected, as the cold is approaching, I shall, in addition to what I said on the subject in my last, give you in general terms my ideas for the disposition of the troops for the winter, under the uncertainty in which we are of peace with the western Indians.

My first wish would be to keep the army as compact as possible, for the purpose of disciplining and training the men to such kinds of manœuvres and firings, as are proper for Indian warfare. But, as this would involve one of two evils of magnitude, namely, an exposed frontier, or an expensive militia for its protection, this wish is scarcely attainable. How to dispose of the troops, then, to the best advantage for defence is next to be considered; and, to do this properly,

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the ulterior movements of the army must be held in view, and the period of their commencement also.

There are two principal and one intermediate points on the Ohio, which claim particular attention, to wit, Pittsburg, or some place not far from it, Fort Washington, and Marietta. The grand movement, in the present train of things, must certainly proceed from Fort Washington; but it does not follow, unless circumstances should point to advantages to be derived from a winter campaign, when frost would prevent the descent of the Ohio, that the force ought necessarily to be assembled at that place, until about to make a forward movement. First, because the enemy's attention would be less fixed to it. Secondly, because the magazines of provisions, military stores, and forage, would accumulate with more ease at that place by lessening the consumption there. And, thirdly, because the river from Pittsburg to that post might be descended when the waters are up in six or eight days, and, matters being previously arranged thereat, the army might march as soon as the junction should be formed; whilst the desultory movement, which has been contemplated, might proceed, if from good intelligence it might be thought advisable, from Big Beaver to Sandusky. Under this idea, one sub-legion might be posted under the command of General Wilkinson at the post below; one at Marietta, under the command of General Putnam; and the other two on the upper part of the river, under the commander-in-chief, with whom the intercourse would be easy from Philadelphia, and his orders quickly despatched to the subordinate parts of the army below.

Without being decided, I ask whether the upper division of the army, except the garrison of Fort Franklin and a sufficient one for the stores, &c. at

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Pittsburg, had not better be hutted in a secure manner on some convenient spot near the mouth of, or somewhere on, Big Beaver Creek; keeping out, as ought also to be the case at other stations, a regular succession of scouts to scour the country above and below, as well for defence as a regular part of their tactics? Such a disposition of the force, if the real movements and plan of operations are kept secret, which they undoubtedly ought to be, would embarrass the enemy not a little, and more than probably be attended with solid advantages. I do not, however, convey these sentiments to you as an order, but give them rather as thoughts, that have arisen from the incomplete state of our force and the uncertainty of the result of the Indian councils, and for free observations and remarks both by yourself and General Wayne, if there is time to obtain them, than from any other motive at present.

Perhaps a sufficient garrison might be better at Marietta, as the intermediate post, than a larger force; and two sub-legionary corps, including the said garrison and all others lower down, as the calls for troops below are great on account of the communication with the advanced posts, might be wintered in huts secured by intrenchments, or a fortified camp at Fort Washington, if there are not barracks sufficient to contain them at that place. I am, &c.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Mount Vernon, 1 October, 1792.

SIR,

It is highly important, that the proceedings in the indictments of those, who have opposed themselves

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unwarrantably to the laws laying a duty on distilled spirits, should be placed on legal ground and prosecuted properly. It is my desire, therefore, that you will attend the Circuit Court at Yorktown, to be held the of this month, and see that that business is conducted in a manner to which no exception can be taken with propriety; and for the further purpose, also, of giving to this measure of government a more solemn and serious aspect. I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Private.

18 October, 1792.

My dear Sir,

I did not require the evidence of the extracts, which you enclosed to me, to convince me of your attachment to the constitution of the United States, or of your disposition to promote the general welfare of this country; but I regret, deeply regret, the difference in opinions, which have arisen and divided you and another principal officer of the government; and I wish devoutly there could be an accommodation of them by mutual yieldings.

A measure of this sort would produce harmony and consequent good in our public councils. The contrary will inevitably introduce confusion and serious mischiefs; and for what? Because mankind cannot think alike, but would adopt different means to attain the same ends. For I will frankly and solemnly declare, that I believe the views of both of you to be pure and well-meant, and that experience only will decide, with respect to the salutariness of the measures, which are the subjects of dispute. Why, then, when some of the

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best citizens in the United States, men of discernment, uniform and tried patriots, who have no sinister views to promote, but are chaste in their ways of thinking and acting, are to be found, some on one side and some on the other of the questions, which have caused these agitations, should either of you be so tenacious of your opinions, as to make no allowances for those of the other? I could, and indeed was about to add more on this interesting subject, but will forbear, at least for the present, after expressing a wish, that the cup, which has been presented to us may not be snatched from our lips by a discordance of action, when I am persuaded there is no discordance in your views. I have a great, a sincere esteem and regard for you both, and ardently wish that some line may be marked out by which both of you could walk. I am, always, &c.*

TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Private.

Philadelphia, 20 October, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although your letter of the 10th of June, which I have received, did not paint the prospects of France in the most pleasing colors, yet the events which have since taken place give a more gloomy aspect to the public affairs of that kingdom, than your letter gave reason to apprehend.

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* This letter was in answer to a brief one from Mr. Jefferson, accompanying extracts from letters written by him to different persons, and giving his views of the constitution as expressed soon after that instrument was adopted by the general convention. For the letters containing these extracts, see JEFFERSON'S *Writings*, Vol. II. p. 290. *North American Review*, Vol. XXV. p. 268.

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A thousand circumstances, besides our distance from the theatre of action, made it improbable that we should have, in this country, a fair statement of facts and causes through the medium of the public prints; and I have received no other accounts, than what have come in that channel. But, taking up the most favorable of these, gloomy indeed appears the situation of France at this juncture. But it is hardly probable, that even you, who are on the spot, can say with any precision how these things will terminate; much less can we, at this distance, pretend to augur the event. We can only repeat the sincere wish, that much happiness may arise to the French nation, and to mankind in general, out of the severe evils which are inseparable from so important a revolution.

In the present state of things we cannot expect, that any commercial treaty can now be formed with France; but I have no doubt of your embracing the proper moment of arrangement, and of doing whatever may be in your power for the substantial interests of our country.

The affairs of the United States go on well. There are some few clouds in our political hemisphere, but I trust that the bright sun of our prosperity will disperse them.

The Indians on our western and southern frontiers are still troublesome, but such measures are taken as will, I presume, prevent any serious mischief from them; I confess, however, that I do not believe these tribes will ever be brought to a quiescent state, so long as they may be under an influence, which is hostile to the rising greatness of these States.

From the complexion of some of our newspapers, foreigners would be led to believe, that inveterate political dissensions exist among us, and that we are on

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the very verge of disunion; but the fact is otherwise. The great body of the people now feel the advantages of the general government, and would not, I am persuaded, do any thing that should destroy it; but this kind of representations is an evil, which must be placed in opposition to the infinite benefits resulting from a free press; and I am sure you need not be told, that in this country a personal difference in political sentiments is often made to take the garb of general dissensions.

From the department of State you are, I am informed, furnished with such papers and documents from time to time, as will keep you more particularly informed of the state of our affairs. I shall therefore add nothing further to this letter, than assurances of being always and sincerely yours, &c.

TO SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM.

Philadelphia, 20 October, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

Where your letter of the 21st of December last has been travelling since it left you, I cannot tell, but it did not get to my hands till within a few weeks past; when I likewise received yours of the 15th of July, introducing Mr. Anderson. I was sorry to see the gloomy picture, which you drew of the affairs of your country in your letter of December, but I hope events have not turned out so badly as you then apprehended. Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by a difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes, that the enlightened and liberal policy, which

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has marked the present age, would at least have reconciled *Christians* of every denomination so far, that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch, as to endanger the peace of society.

The affairs of this country still wear a prosperous aspect. Our agriculture, commerce, and navigation are in a flourishing state. In some parts of the country the crops of Indian corn (maize) have been injured by the drought in summer, and early frosts in autumn. We have, however, a happiness, which is scarcely in any other country; for, such is the extent of the United States, and so great a variety of climate and soil do they embrace, that we never need apprehend a universal failure of our crops and a consequent famine.

I have spent part of the summer at Mount Vernon, and have but just returned to the seat of government, where I am so much engaged in attending to business, which has accumulated during my absence, and in preparing such business as will be necessary to lay before the legislature at their meeting early in next month, that I have but little time to attend to any affairs of a private or personal nature. I am therefore persuaded, that you will impute to these causes the shortness of this letter. Mrs. Washington unites with me in respects and best wishes for Lady Newenham and yourself. I am, &c.

TO BENJAMIN STODDERT.

Philadelphia, 14 November, 1792.

Sir,

Your favor of the 24th ultimo came duly to hand, but the variety of important matters, which passed between the receipt of it and the meeting of Congress,

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allowed me no time to give it an earlier acknowledgment; and now I pray you to consider what I am about to say, as coming from me in my private capacity.

It has always been my opinion, and still is so, that the administration of the affairs of the Federal City ought to be under the immediate direction of a judicious and skilful superintendent, appointed by and subject to the orders of the commissioners (who, in the eye of the law, are the responsible characters), one in whom are united knowledge of men and things, industry, integrity, impartiality, and firmness; and that this person should reside on the spot. This, I believe, is also the opinion of the commissioners; and, if they think Mr. Blodget possesses these qualifications (I know very little of him myself, and after what has happened shall be cautious in recommending), or that he is the most competent character that presents, who is willing to undertake and ready to enter upon the duties of such an office, their appointment of him will meet my entire approbation.

I can readily conceive, Sir, that the motives to your communication were pure and laudable, and shall give you credit for them accordingly. On my part, permit me to add, that I have a mind open to information, and a disposition always to correct abuses, that shall come properly before me, as far as I am able; but I am sure it is unnecessary to remark to a person of your observation, that, from the two great interests, which divide the Federal City, and the less ones into which these are branched, it will be found difficult, if not impossible, for any set of commissioners whatsoever to steer clear of censure. One wants this thing, another wants that thing, and all, or most of them, perhaps, want things which our resources are incompetent to the accomplishment of. You will excuse my candor, therefore, my

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good Sir, for observing that there is, in my own judgment, but one line of conduct proper for these gentlemen to pursue, and that is to take a comprehensive view of the trust reposed in them, the general expectation of the community at large and the means to effect it, to form their plans agreeably thereto, upon sound and just principles, and to see that they are carried into effect by whomsoever they shall employ in the execution thereof, without regard to any local concern or interest whatsoever. Such a conduct will meet general approbation, and of none, I am persuaded, more than yourself. With esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Philadelphia, 20 January, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favored with your letter of the 6th instant, congratulatory on my reëlection to the chair of government. A mind must be insensible indeed, not to be gratefully impressed by so distinguished and honorable a testimony of public approbation and confidence; and as I suffered my name to be contemplated on this occasion, it is more than probable that I should, for a moment, have experienced chagrin, if my reëlection had not been by a pretty respectable vote. But to say I feel pleasure from the prospect of commencing another tour of duty would be a departure from truth; for, however it might savour of affectation in the opinion of the world (who, by the by, can only guess at my sentiments, as it never has been troubled with them), my particular and confidential friends well know, that it was after a long and painful conflict in my own breast, that I was withheld, by considerations which

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are not necessary to be mentioned, from requesting in time, that no vote might be thrown away upon me, it being my fixed determination to return to the walks of private life at the end of my term.

I am sorry to be informed by your letter, that death has snatched from us my old acquaintance and friend Colonel Bassett. The manner of it adds to the regret.* We shall all follow; some sooner and some later; and, from accounts, my poor nephew is likely to be amongst the first.

Mrs. Washington joins me in wishing you the return of many new and happy years. With very great esteem and regard, I am always your affectionate servant.

TO CHARLES CARROLL, OF CARROLLTON.

Philadelphia, 23 January, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

The western Indians having proposed to us a conference at Auglaise, not far distant from Detroit, in the ensuing spring, I am now about to proceed to nominate three commissioners to meet and treat with them on the subject of peace. What may be the issue of the conference it is difficult to foresee; but it is extremely essential, that, whatever it be, it should carry with it the perfect confidence of our citizens, that every endeavour has been used to obtain peace, which their interests would permit. For this reason it is necessary, that characters be appointed, who are known to our citizens for their talents and integrity, and whose situation in life places them clear of every suspicion of

* His death was caused by a fall from his horse.

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a wish to prolong the war; or say rather, whose interest in common with that of their country is clearly to produce peace. Characters, uniting these desiderata, do not abound. Some of them too are in offices inconsistent with the appointment now in question, and others under impediments of health or other circumstances, so as to circumscribe the choice within a small circle. Desirous in the first instance, that you should be in this commission, I have mentioned these difficulties to show you, in the event of your declining, how serious they are, and to induce you to come forward and perform this important service to your country, a service with which its prosperity and tranquillity are intimately connected.

It will be necessary to set out from this place about the 1st of May. The route will be by the North River and Niagara. It will be safe, and the measures for your comfortable transportation and subsistence will be taken as effectually as circumstances will admit. Will you then permit me, Sir, to nominate you as one of the commissioners, with a certain reliance on your acceptance? Your answer to this by the first post will oblige, dear Sir, &c.*

TO THE MARCHIONESS DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 31 January, 1793.

MADAM,

If I had words that could convey to you an adequate idea of my feelings on the present situation of

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* A copy of the same letter was sent to Charles Thomson. Both these gentlemen declined the appointment. The persons nominated were Benjamin Lincoln, Beverley Randolph, and Timothy Pickering. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate. — *Executive Journal, March 1st*, 1793.

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the Marquis de Lafayette, this letter would appear to you in a different garb. The sole object in writing to you now is, to inform you that I have deposited in the hands of Mr. Nicholas Van Staphorst, of Amsterdam, two thousand three hundred and ten guilders, Holland currency, equal to two hundred guineas, subject to your orders.

This sum is, I am certain, the least I am indebted for services rendered to me by the Marquis de Lafayette, of which I never yet have received the account. I could add much, but it is best perhaps that I should say little on this subject. Your goodness will supply my deficiency.

The uncertainty of your situation, after all the inquiries I have made, has occasioned a delay in this address and remittance; and even now the measure adopted is more the effect of a desire to find where you are, than from any knowledge I have obtained of your residence.

At all times and under all circumstances, you and yours will possess the affectionate regards of him, who has the honor to be, &c.*

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* Shortly after the date of this letter, President Washington received one from the Marchioness de Lafayette, dated at Chavaniac, October 8th, 1792. It had been conveyed by a private hand through England, which had caused it to be long on its passage. It was accompanied by another letter written from England by Mr. John Dyson, who had been residing for several months in the family of Lafayette. Speaking of the Marchioness he says, "Her present situation is truly affecting; separated from her husband without the means of hearing from him, herself in captivity under the safeguard of the municipality, she is anxiously expecting the decision of his and her own destiny. Under these circumstances she relies on your influence to adopt such measures as may effectuate their mutual freedom." In her own letter, after describing the condition of her husband, as far as she had been able to learn it, she adds;

"He was taken by the troops of the Emperor, although the King of Prussia retains him a prisoner in his dominions. And while he suffers

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TO WILLIAM MOULTRIE, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Philadelphia, 10 February, 1793.

SIR,

I have been honored with your Excellency's letter and duplicate of the 8th ultimo, enclosing the deposition of Benjamin Cleveland respecting the murder of some Cherokee Indians, which was transmitted to me agreeably to a resolve of the legislature of South Carolina.

I cannot on this occasion forbear expressing the extreme regret with which I learn, that so cruel and unprovoked a murder has been committed by the white people, and particularly at this juncture. In vain may we expect peace with the Indians on our frontiers, so

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this inconceivable persecution from the enemies without, the faction which reigns within keeps me a hostage at one hundred and twenty leagues from the capital. Judge then at what distance I am from him. In this abyss of misery, the idea of owing to the United States and to Washington the life and liberty of M. de Lafayette kindles a ray of hope in my heart. I hope every thing from the goodness of the people with whom he has set an example of that liberty, of which he is now made the victim. And shall I dare speak what I hope? I would ask of them through you for an envoy, who shall go to reclaim him in the name of the republic of the United States wheresoever he may be found, and who shall be authorized to make with the power, in whose charge he may be placed, all necessary engagements for his release, and for taking him to the United States, even if he is there to be guarded as a captive. If his wife and his children could be comprised in this mission, it is easy to judge how happy it would be for her and for them; but, if this would in the least degree retard or embarrass the measure, we will defer still longer the happiness of a reunion. May Heaven deign to bless the confidence with which it has inspired me. I hope my request is not a rash one. Accept the homage of the sentiments, which have dictated this letter, as well as that of attachment and tender respect."

An account of the captivity of Lafayette, and of the proceedings of the American ministers abroad in consequence of it, and also particulars respecting his wife and family, may be seen in SPARKS's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. pp. 397–411; 439–447; 457.

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long as a lawless set of unprincipled wretches can violate the rights of hospitality, or infringe the most solemn treaties, without receiving the punishment they so justly merit.

So deeply is the safety and happiness of every good citizen and industrious settler on our frontiers involved in these atrocious acts, that, unless they will exert themselves to prevent such outrages, or to bring the perpetrators of them to condign punishment, no treaties can secure them; neither will it be in the power of the government of the United States to protect their persons and property from the depredations of the the Indians. With sentiments of respect, I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.*

Philadelphia, 17 February, 1793.

SIR,

I transmit to you a copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to me, with the heads of instructions proposed to be given to the commissioners, who may be appointed to hold a treaty with the western Indians in the spring.

As I intend in a few days to call for the advice and opinion of the heads of the departments on the points touched upon in the enclosed paper, I must request you will give it an attentive and serious consideration, and note such alterations, amendments, or additions in writing, as may appear to you proper to be introduced into the instructions proposed to be given to the commissioners.

I shall likewise request the opinion of the same

* Addressed likewise to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney-General.

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gentlemen upon the expediency of asking the advice of the Senate, before the end of their present session, as to the propriety of instructing the commissioners to recede from the present boundary, provided peace cannot be established with the Indians upon other terms. I therefore desire you will turn your attention to this matter also, in order that you may be able to give a deliberate opinion thereon when the gentlemen shall be called together.*

TO WILLIAM PATTERSON, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

Philadelphia, 20 February, 1793.

SIR,

The resignation of Mr. Johnson, one of the Associate Justices, having occasioned a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, it is incumbent on me to bring forward a suitable character to fill that place. In performing this part of my duty, I think it necessary to select a person, who is not only professionally qualified to discharge that important trust, but one who is known to the public, and whose conduct meets their approbation. Under this impression, Sir, I have turned my thoughts upon you; and, if you will permit me to nominate you for this office, I shall have the satisfaction to believe, that our country will be pleased with and benefited by the acquisition.

As an appointment to this office must be made before the close of the present session of the Senate, which is near at hand, and it would be convenient if it could be done before the rising of the Supreme Court,

* See the instructions here alluded to, and the official account of the doings of the commissioners, in LOWRIE AND CLARKE'S *State Papers*, Vol. IV. p. 340.

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which is now sitting, in order that the judges may make their arrangement of the circuits, it is necessary that I should know your determination as early as possible. I have the honor to be, &c.*

TO FRANCES WASHINGTON.†

Philadelphia, 24 February, 1793.

MY DEAR FANNY,

To you, who so well know the affectionate regard I had for our departed friend, it is unnecessary to describe the sorrow with which I was afflicted at the news of his death, although it was an event I had expected many weeks before it happened. To express this sorrow with the force I feel it, would answer no other purpose than to revive in your breast that poignancy of anguish, which by this time I hope is abated.

The object of this letter is to convey to your mind the warmest assurances of my love, friendship, and disposition to serve you. These also I profess to have, in an eminent degree, for your children.

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* Mr. Patterson was nominated to the Senate on the 27th of February. The nomination was countermanded the next day by the following note from the President.

"I was led by a consideration of the qualifications of William Patterson, of New Jersey, to nominate him an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. It has since occurred to me, that he was a member of the Senate when the law creating that office was passed, and that the time for which he was elected is not yet expired. I think it my duty, therefore, to declare that I deem the nomination to have been null by the constitution."

On the 4th of March, when the Senate was assembled for public business by the special summons of the President, the nomination was renewed and confirmed.

† Widow of George Augustine Washington, who had recently died.

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What plan you have contemplated, or whether, in so short a time, you have contemplated any, is unknown to me; and therefore I add, that the one which strikes me most favorably, by being best calculated to promote the interest of yourself and children, is to return to your old habitation at Mount Vernon. You can go to no place where you will be more welcome, nor to any, where you can live at less expense or trouble. Matters at Mount Vernon are now so arranged, as to be under the care of responsible persons, and so they may continue; which would ease you of that anxiety, which the care of so large a family otherwise would naturally involve you in. It is unnecessary to observe to you, that housekeeping, under any circumstances and with the best economy, is expensive; and, where provision for it is to be made, will be found, I fear, beyond your means.

You might bring my niece, Harriot Washington, with you for a companion, whose conduct I hear with pleasure has given much satisfaction to my sister. I shall, under my present view of things, be at Mount Vernon about the 1st of April, for perhaps a fortnight; but your aunt and family will not, I expect, be there before the middle of July. My affectionate regards attend you and your children; and I shall always be your sincere friend.

TO BURWELL BASSETT.

Philadelphia, 4 March, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 18th ultimo, and its enclosure, came duly to hand. Expected as the death of my departed relative and friend was, I could not but feel

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sensibly when the news of it arrived; and I take the present occasion to offer you my condolence on your own late loss of your father and my friend, for whom, when alive, I had the sincerest regard.

I wish some other person, competent and more active than I can be, had been placed as an executor of the will of my nephew. All the aid I can give by advice, in the management of the estate and whatever may respect it, would have been afforded without being named in it. More cannot be done by me from that circumstance, for my situation will preclude me from qualifying as an executor, and from incurring any responsibility in the management of the estate.

The time for proving the will, and qualifying as an executrix, must depend upon your sister. I expect to be at Mount Vernon about the first week in April, and will make a point of it, if public duties do not forbid, to be in the county on the court-day of that month, which I think happens on the 15th day; provided she chooses to be up then, either temporarily or permanently; and with much pleasure and satisfaction to myself will give her every aid in my power to arrange the business of the estate. My returning thither again will depend upon circumstances, which are not always under my control, and probably will not admit it before July or August. With these things be pleased to bring Fanny acquainted. Offer my love to her and the children, my respects and good wishes to Mrs. Bassett, and be assured of the esteem and regard with which I am, dear Sir, &c.*

* On the 4th of March the President took the oath of office, he having been unanimously elected for a second term, which commenced this day. As the occasion was a novel one, there seems to have been a difference of opinion in regard to the place and mode of administering the oath. The matter was considered in a cabinet council. Jefferson and Hamilton thought it ought to be in private, and that one of

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 13 March, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

The returned draft of a letter to Mr. Gouverneur Morris accords with my sentiments, taking it for granted that the words "we suppose this will rather overpay the instalments and interest due on the loans of eighteen, six, and ten millions," mean all that could be demanded by the French government to the close of last year; this being the idea I have entertained of the payments and engagements.

If it has not been done in a former letter, it would be agreeable to me, that Mr. Morris should be instructed to neglect no favorable opportunity of expressing, *informally*, the sentiments and wishes of this

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the judges should administer the oath at the President's own house. Knox and Randolph were of a different sentiment, and advised that the ceremony should be in public. The President inclined to this view, and at a subsequent cabinet meeting on the 1st of March, at which Mr. Jefferson was not present, the following decision was made.

"It is our opinion,

"1. That the President ought to take the oath in public.

"2. That the time be on Monday next at twelve o'clock at noon.

"3. That the place be the Senate-chamber.

"4. That the marshal of the district inform the Vice-President, that the Senate-chamber, being the usual place of the President's public acts, is supposed to be the best place for taking the oath, and that it is wished, that the chamber may be open.

"5. That it may be informally notified to the Vice-President, the Governor [of Pennsylvania], and foreign ministers, that the oath is to be taken at the time and place above mentioned.

"6. That Mr. Cushing be requested to attend and administer the oath.

"7. That the President go without form, attended by such gentlemen as he may choose, and return without form, except that he be preceded by the marshal.

"H. KNOX.

"EDMUND RANDOLPH."

"My opinion given yesterday was founded on prudential considerations of the moment; though I think it right in the abstract to give

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country respecting the Marquis de Lafayette; and I pray you to commit to paper, in answer to the enclosed letter from Madame de Lafayette to me, all the consolation I can with propriety give, consistent with my public character and the national policy, circumstanced as things are. My last and only letter* to her is herewith sent, that you may see what has been written heretofore. I am, &c.

TO THE MARCHIONESS DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 16 March, 1793.

DEAR MADAM,

I addressed a few lines to you on the 31st of January, in a state of entire uncertainty in what country or

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publicity to the act in question. If this is to be done on the present occasion, I see no objection to the above form. I am not, however, satisfied, that prudential considerations are not equally balanced.

"A. HAMILTON."

The oath was finally administered publicly in the Senate-chamber. The heads of the departments, foreign ministers, such members of the House of Representatives as were in town, and as many other spectators as could be accommodated, were present. After the audience had assembled, the President rose and said;

"Fellow citizens; I am again called upon, by the voice of my country, to execute the functions of its Chief Magistrate. When the occasion proper for it shall arrive, I shall endeavour to express the high sense I entertain of this distinguished honor, and of the confidence which has been reposed in me by the people of United America. Previous to the execution of any official act of the President, the constitution requires an oath of office. This oath I am now about to take and in your presence; that, if it shall be found during my administration of the government, I have in any instance violated willingly or knowingly the injunction thereof, I may, besides incurring constitutional punishment, be subject to the upbraidings of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony."

The oath was then administered by Mr. Justice Cushing, and the President retired.

* See this letter, and an extract from that of the Marchioness de Lafayette, under the date of January 31st, 1793.

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condition they might find you, as we had been sometimes told you were in England, sometimes in Holland, and sometimes in France. Your letter of October 8th, 1792, first relieved me from doubt, and gave me a hope, that, being in France, and on your own estate, you are not as destitute as I had feared of the resources, which that could furnish. But I have still to sympathize with you on the deprivation of the dearest of all your resources of happiness, in comparison with which others vanish. I do it in all the sincerity of my friendship for him, and with ardent desires for his relief; in which sentiment I know that my fellow citizens participate.

The measures, which you were pleased to intimate in your letter, are perhaps not exactly those, which I could pursue; perhaps, indeed, not the most likely, under actual circumstances, to obtain our object; but be assured, that I am not inattentive to his condition, nor contenting myself with inactive wishes for his liberation. My affection to his nation and to himself are unabated, and notwithstanding the line of separation, which has been unfortunately drawn between them, I am confident that both have been led on by a pure love of liberty, and a desire to secure public happiness; and I shall deem that among the most consoling moments of my life, which shall see them reunited in the end, as they were in the beginning, of their virtuous enterprise. Accept, I pray you, the same lively sentiments of interest and attachment to yourself and your dear children from, dear Madam, your most obedient servant.*

* Before receiving this letter, and indeed a short time before it was written, Madame de Lafayette wrote a second letter to President Washington respecting her husband, in which she expressed deep solicitude for his fate, and disappointment that no decided part had been taken by the United States to procure his release.

"I had the honor to write to you," said she, "in October, 1792, when

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TO FRANCES WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 17 March, 1793.

MY DEAR FANNY,

I have duly received your letter, dated Hanover, March 5th, and was happy to hear, that yourself and the children were well. It is not by any means a wish of mine, that you should come to Mount Vernon next month, on account of my short visit to that place. It was merely on your own account, and that of the estate, that I suggested the measure; more indeed for consideration, than by way of advice; for either of your brothers, or Mr. John Dandridge, can speak to the latter with more propriety than I am able to do, as they know in what time and in what manner the will of our

I was retained a prisoner in France, by the orders of a committee which ruled a faction, who, after commanding me to proceed to Paris about the time of the massacres, at length permitted the administration of the department in which I live to guard me first within its limits, and then to send me here under the responsibility of the municipality of my village. It was from this place, that I had the consolation of writing to you. I durst not sign my letter, nor even send it in my own handwriting. Mr. Dyson, a young English farmer, who had passed some time with us in our retreat, and who was about to return to England, took charge of it, copied and certified by himself. Has this letter reached you? Was it necessary that it should arrive, to excite your interest? I cannot believe it. But I confess, that your silence and the abandonment of M. de Lafayette and his family for the last six months are, of all our evils, the most inexplicable to me. I hope they will not continue always. Yet, if it is reserved for me again to see his face, and be reunited to him, it must be through your goodness and that of the United States.

"I can do nothing for him. I can neither receive a line from him, nor write one to him. Such is the manner in which I am treated. But I shall take no step unworthy of him whom I love, nor of the cause to which he never ceased to be faithful; a cause, which his fellow citizens showed themselves in every way unworthy of defending, and unworthy, at least for a long time to come, of being served by virtuous men. Be assured, Sir, that in the present state of Europe every thing is to be feared for M. de Lafayette. I shall say nothing more. I will only add, that my confidence in General Washington, though severely tried, still remains firm, and that I dare make to him a tender of my homage, and

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departed friend ought to be proved, and the execution of the trust entered upon.

My last to you, enclosing the copy of a letter, which I had previously written to your brother Burwell, would have conveyed to you fully my ideas on this subject; and to that communication I now beg leave to refer you.

The offer of a residence at Mount Vernon was made to you with my whole heart; but it is with you, nevertheless, to consider whether any other plan will comport better with the views, which my nephew had, or with such as you may have entertained for your own case, for the education of your children, or for the interest of the estate. And your decision thereon

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of my high esteem of his character and his virtues." — *Chavaniac, March 13th*, 1793.

It should be observed here, that the first letter, written by President Washington to Madame de Lafayette, after hearing of her husband's captivity, had not come to her hands when she wrote the above. By a letter from Mr. Van Staphorst of Amsterdam it appears, indeed, that it was not forwarded from that city till the 2d of April, and that he was then quite uncertain at what time or through what channel it would reach her; and even a month later Mr. Van Staphorst was seeking a mode of conveyance for the money remitted to him for her use. The charge of neglect, therefore, in regard to Madame de Lafayette, was not well founded, but is fully explained by the above circumstance, arising out of the difficulty of communication, and the uncertainty of her place of residence. And in regard to the Marquis himself, every thing was done that could be done by the American government, as subsequent events proved, and as is fully shown in the parts of the *Life of Gouverneur Morris* cited under the letter of January 31st. The American ministers abroad were instructed to make unofficially every effort in their power to procure his release. The political relations then existing between the United States and every government in Europe were such, as to render this the only possible mode of approaching the subject with the least hope of success. The United States had neither authority to make *demands*, nor power to enforce them. They had no immediate intercourse with Prussia or Austria, and were in no condition to ask the favors or avenge the tyranny of the rulers of those countries, who only were responsible for the treatment of Lafayette, and whose pleasure it was, if not their policy and interest, to keep him in chains.

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will be perfectly agreeable to me; for I can assure you with much truth I have no wish in the case, beyond that of seeing you settled to your entire satisfaction; the means for doing which, either in Alexandria or elsewhere, you have no doubt considered and calculated. With the best economy, I conceive it must be expensive to purchase furniture and keep a house.

The carriage, which I sent to Mount Vernon for your use, I never intended to reclaim, and therefore now making you a more formal present of it, it may be sent for whenever it suits your convenience, and be considered as your own. I shall, when I see you, request that Fayette may be given up to me, either at that time, or as soon after as he is old enough to go to school. This will relieve you of that portion of attention, which his education would otherwise call for.

It is to be feared, that your overseer in Fairfax is neither the best of that description, nor the honestest of men. A month or more ago, Mr. Whiting informed me, that this said overseer had one, if not two horses of his own on the plantation, fed no doubt, whatever his declarations to the contrary might be, at your expense. I immediately directed Mr. Whiting to go to him, and in my name to order the horse, or horses, if more than one, to be sent away instantly, unless he could show a written permission for their being kept on the place; and to inform him, moreover, if they were to be found on it when I came home, I would not only send the horses off, but himself along with them. Since then, some suspicions have also been entertained of his not dealing fairly by the wheat under his care, which was for market. Such is the villany of this sort of people, when they have it in their power, as they conceive, to cheat with impunity. What has been done in either of these cases, I remain unadvised;

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as poor Whiting, by a letter which I received from Doctor Craik, dated the 6th instant, was then confined to his bed by a more violent return of his old disorder than ever. Since that date, I have heard nothing from thence, which is presumptive evidence, that he is not able to write himself; and of this there is the evidence also of the Doctor's letter, pronouncing his case critical and dangerous.

From what Mr. Bassett said to Mr. Whiting, respecting the materials for the building, which had been begun at your place, I directed him to have them put away securely, and to let your carpenters work along with mine, keeping an account of the time, that I might allow you the usual hire. There they may remain, unless you have other employment for them, as I have work on hand that requires despatch; and I would, to facilitate the execution thereof, hire others if I do not retain these.

Your aunt joins me in every affectionate regard for you and the children, and in best wishes for the friends among whom you are. At all times, and under all circumstances, I shall ever remain, your sincere friend.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.*

Philadelphia, 23 March, 1793.

SIR,

The treaty, which is agreed to be held on or about the 1st of June next at the Lower Sandusky of Lake Erie, being of great moment to the interests and peace

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* Sent likewise to the other secretaries of departments, and to the Attorney-General.

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of this country, and likely to be attended with difficulties arising from circumstances not unknown to you, of a peculiar and embarrassing nature, it is indispensably necessary that our rights under the treaties, which have been entered into with the Six Nations and the several tribes of Indians now in hostility against us, and the claims of others, should be carefully investigated and well ascertained, that the commissioners, who are appointed to hold it, may be well informed and clearly instructed on all the points that are likely to be discussed, thereby knowing what they are to insist upon, with or without compensation, and the amount of the compensation if any, and what for the sake of peace they may yield.

You are not to learn from me the different views, which our citizens entertain of the war we are engaged in with the Indians, and how much these different opinions add to the delicacy and embarrassments alluded to above, nor the criticisms, which more than probably will be made on the subject, if the proposed treaty should be unsuccessful.

Induced by these motives, and desirous that time may be allowed for a full and deliberate consideration of the subject before the departure of the commissioners, it is my desire that you will on the 25th day of this instant meet together at the war office, where the documents are, with such papers as you may be respectively possessed of, and as I shall cause to be laid before you, and then and there, or at such other place and time as you may agree upon, decide on all the points, which you shall conceive necessary for the information and instruction of the commissioners; and, having drawn them into form, revise the same, and have them ready in a finished state for my perusal and consideration when I return, together with

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a digest of such references as shall be adjudged necessary for the commissioners to take with them.

As it has been suggested to me, that the Society of Quakers are desirous of sending a deputation of their body to be present at the aforesaid treaty, which, if done with pure motives, and a disposition accordant with the sentiments entertained by government respecting boundaries, may be a means of facilitating the good work of peace, you will consider how far, if they are approved characters, they ought to be recognised in the instructions to the commissioners, and how proper it may be for them to participate therein, or be made acquainted therewith. I am, &c.

TO DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Philadelphia, 23 March, 1793.

My dear Sir,

Closely engaged in the business incident to my office during the session of Congress, and as closely engaged since in making arrangements for carrying into effect the laws then passed, and in discharging other public duties, I have not till this moment found myself enough at leisure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d of July; and, being now on the eve of setting out for Mount Vernon, I shall be able to do but little more than barely acknowledge the receipt of it, and of your favors of the 23d of January and 8th of February, both of which have reached my hands within these few days.

Even if I had time, it might not be proper for me to reply particularly to the several parts of your letters, especially to that of the 23d of July. I shall therefore content myself at present, my dear Sir, with

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making a few general observations on the existing state of things, and rely upon your being assured, that, however concise my letter may be, it does not become so from any diminution of my regard for you.

If it can be esteemed a happiness to live in an age productive of great and interesting events, we of the present age are very highly favored. The rapidity of national revolutions appears no less astonishing, than their magnitude. In what they will terminate is known only to the Great Ruler of events; and, confiding in his wisdom and goodness, we may safely trust the issue to him, without perplexing ourselves to seek for that, which is beyond human ken; only taking care to perform the parts assigned to us, in a way that reason and our own consciences approve.

All our late accounts from Europe hold up the expectation of a general war in that quarter. For the sake of humanity I hope such an event will not take place; but, if it should, I trust that we shall have too just a sense of our own interest to originate any cause, that may involve us in it. And I ardently wish we may not be forced into it by the conduct of other nations. If we are permitted to improve without interruption the great advantages, which nature and circumstances have placed within our reach, many years will not revolve before we may be ranked, not only among the most respectable, but among the happiest people on this globe. Our advances to these points are more rapid, than the most sanguine among us ever predicted. A spirit of improvement displays itself in every quarter, and principally in objects of the greatest public utility, such as opening the inland navigation, which is extensive and various beyond conception, improving the old roads and making new ones, building bridges and houses, and, in short, pursuing

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those things, which seem eminently calculated to promote the advantage and accommodation of the people at large. Besides these, the enterprises of individuals show at once what are the happy effects of personal exertions in a country, where equal laws and equal rights prevail.

For myself, you see me again entering upon the arduous duties of an important office, to which the unanimous voice of my country has once more called me. To you, who know my love of retirement and domestic life, it is unnecessary to say, that, in accepting this re-appointment, I relinquish those personal enjoyments to which I am peculiarly attached. The motives, which induced my acceptance, are the same which have ever ruled my decision, when the public desire, or, as my countrymen are pleased to denominate it, the *public good*, was placed in the scale against my personal enjoyment or private interest. The latter I have ever considered as subservient to the former; and perhaps in no instance of my life have I been more sensible of the sacrifice than in the present; for at my age the love of retirement grows every day more and more powerful, and the death of my nephew will, I apprehend, cause my private concerns to suffer very much. This melancholy event took place on the 5th of last month, at Colonel Bassett's, where he had gone, hoping to benefit from a change of air and situation. Although it had been long expected, and indeed to me of late appeared inevitable, yet I have felt it very keenly.

You will receive from Mr. Jefferson every official communication necessary for your conduct, together with laws and public papers. He will also inform you, that the steps which you took in consequence of Mr. Barclay's death met my entire approbation.

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I set out with intimating, that my letter would be very short, but upon looking back I find it can hardly be said to have that fault; and, lest it should partake of another at least as bad, I shall close it with assuring you that you have the best wishes, for your health and happiness, of your sincere friend and affectionate servant.*

TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Philadelphia, 25 March, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

It was not till the middle of February, that I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 23d of October.

If you, who are at the fountain-head of those great and important transactions, which have lately engrossed the attention of Europe and America, cannot pretend to say what will be their event, surely we, in this distant quarter, should be presumptuous indeed in venturing to predict it. And unwise should we be in the extreme to involve ourselves in the contests of European nations, where our weight could be but small, though the loss to ourselves would be certain. I can however with truth aver, that this country is not guided by such a narrow and mistaken policy, as will lead it to wish the destruction of any nation, under an idea that our importance will be increased in proportion as

* Mr. Barclay was the American consul in Morocco. He had died suddenly, and Mr. Humphreys, then resident in Lisbon as minister to Portugal, on hearing of his death, proceeded immediately to Gibraltar, and took charge of the public property in that place, which had been under the care of Mr. Barclay. The service was important, and, as it was performed without instructions, Mr. Humphreys had requested the President to state explicitly whether it met with his approbation.

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that of others is lessened. We should rejoice to see every nation enjoying all the advantages, that nature and its circumstances would admit, consistent with civil liberty and the rights of other nations. Upon this ground the prosperity of this country would unfold itself every day, and every day it would be growing in political importance.

Mr. Jefferson will communicate to you such official information as we have to give, and will transmit the laws and public papers.

I have thought it best, my dear Sir, not to let slip this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, lest no other should occur to me very soon, as I am called to Mount Vernon by the death of my nephew, Major Washington, and am on the point of setting out for that place to-morrow. I need not tell you that this is of course a very busy moment with me. It will therefore account for the conciseness of this letter, by which, however, you must not measure my regard.

You see me again entering upon the arduous duties of an important office. It is done so contrary to my intention, that it would require more time, than I have allowed myself, to assign the reasons; and therefore I shall leave them to your own suggestion, aided by the publications which you will find in the gazettes. I am your sincere friend and affectionate servant.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mount Vernon, 5 April, 1793.

SIR,

In addition to the several matters contained in my circular letter to you before I left Philadelphia, which

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you were desired to take into consideration, I now submit to you (and to the other gentlemen to whom the abovementioned letter was directed, and whom you will now also consult) a request of the Society of Quakers to be permitted to make presents to the Indians at the proposed treaty at Sandusky.

You will determine among yourselves as to the propriety of granting this request at all, and to what amount, and what kind of articles they may present to the Indians. The result of your united deliberations, as I am satisfied it will meet my approbation, you may communicate to the Society; as they may want to make some arrangements, in case their request should be granted, before the commissioners depart for Sandusky.

On my way to this place I saw Captain Barney at Baltimore, who has just arrived from Havana. He says, the day before he left that place, which I believe was the 10th ultimo, advice had been received and generally believed, that our friend McGillivray was dead, and that Bowles, who was sent to Spain, had been hanged. Whether this news is true or not, I am not authorized to say, though Captain Barney seems to entertain no doubt of the facts.

General Posey, who is now with me, informs me he is ready to receive any instructions you may wish to give him, and desires to know how he is to be disposed of. I supposed he had received your orders before this time to join the main army; but, as it is not the case, I hope you will without delay do this, or inform him for what particular service he is destined, if any thing more advantageous was in contemplation for him. I am, &c.

P. S. If General Posey is ordered to join the main army, he desires to be permitted to take Philadelphia

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in his way, in order to provide himself with some necessaries, which he cannot conveniently procure elsewhere.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 12 April, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 7th was brought to me by the last post. War having actually commenced between France and Great Britain, it behoves the government of this country to use every means in its power to prevent the citizens thereof from embroiling us with either of those powers, by endeavouring to maintain a strict neutrality. I therefore require, that you will give the subject mature consideration, that such measures as shall be deemed most likely to effect this desirable purpose may be adopted without delay; for I have understood, that vessels are already designated as privateers, and are preparing accordingly.

Such other measures as may be necessary for us to pursue against events, which it may not be in our power to avoid or control, you will also think of, and lay them before me on my arrival in Philadelphia; for which place I shall set out to-morrow, but will leave it to the advices, which I may receive to-night by the post, to determine whether it is to be by the most direct route, or by the one I proposed to come, that is, by Reading, &c. With very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 18 April, 1793.

SIR,

The posture of affairs in Europe, particularly between France and Great Britain, places the United States in a delicate situation, and requires much consideration, as to the measures which it will be proper for them to observe in the war between those powers. With a view to forming a general plan of conduct for the executive, I have stated and enclosed sundry questions, to be considered preparatory to a meeting at my house to-morrow, where I shall expect to see you at nine o'clock, and to receive the result of your reflections thereon. I am, &c.*

TO THE EARL OF BUCHAN.

Philadelphia, 22 April, 1793.

MY LORD,

The favorable wishes, which your Lordship has expressed for the prosperity of this young and rising country, cannot but be gratefully received by all its citizens and every lover of it. One means to the attainment of which, and its happiness, is very judiciously portrayed in the following words of your letter, "To be little heard of in the great world of politics." These words, I can assure your Lordship, are expressive of my sentiments on this head; and I believe it is the sincere wish of United America to have nothing to do with the political intrigues, or the squabbles, of

* Sent as a circular to all the members of the cabinet. The *Questions* related to the celebrated proclamation of neutrality. — See APPENDIX, No. XV.

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European nations; but, on the contrary, to exchange commodities and live in peace and amity with all the inhabitants of the earth. And this I am persuaded they will do, if rightfully it can be done. To administer justice to, and receive it from, every power with whom they are connected will, I hope, be always found the most prominent feature in the administration of this country; and I flatter myself, that nothing short of imperious necessity can occasion a breach with any of them. Under such a system, if we are allowed to pursue it, the agriculture and mechanical arts, the wealth and population, of these States will increase with such a degree of rapidity as to baffle all calculation, and must surpass any idea your Lordship can hitherto have entertained.

To evince that our views, whether realized or not, are expanded, I take the liberty of sending you the plan of a new city, situated about the centre of the Union of these States, which is designated for the permanent seat of the government. And we are at this moment deeply engaged and far advanced in extending the inland navigation of the River Potomac, on which it stands, and the branches thereof, through a tract of as rich country for four hundred miles, as any in the world. Nor is this a solitary instance of attempts of the kind, although it is the only one which is near completion, and in partial use. Several other very important ones are commenced, and little doubt is entertained, that in ten years, if left undisturbed, we shall open a communication by water with all the lakes northward and westward of us, with which we have territorial connexion; and inland navigation in a very few years more from Rhode Island to Georgia inclusively; partly by cuts between the great bays and sounds, and partly between the islands and sand-banks

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and the main from Albemarle Sound to the River St. Mary's. To these may also be added the erection of bridges over considerable rivers, and the commencement of turnpike roads, as further indications of improvements in hand.

The family of Fairfax in Virginia, of which you speak, is also related to me by several marriages before it came to this country, as I am informed, and since; and what remain of the old stock are near neighbours to my estate of Mount Vernon. The late Lord, Thomas Fairfax, with whom I was perfectly acquainted, lived at the distance of sixty miles from me, after he had removed from Belvoir, the seat of his kinsman, which adjoins my estate just mentioned, and is going to be inhabited by a young member of the family as soon as the house, which was some years ago burnt down, can be rebuilt. With great esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

TO JAMES ANDERSON.

Philadelphia, 25 April, 1793.

SIR,

While I beg your acceptance of my best thanks for the polite attention you have shown in forwarding the several volumes of *The Bee*, and expressing my sincere wishes for the prosperity of that liberal and useful work, I must repeat my desire of being considered as a subscriber to it, and request to be informed to whom I shall make payment therefor.

I have been hitherto prevented, by my numerous avocations of a public nature, from perusing the volumes which you first sent me, with that care and regularity which I wished; but such parts of them, as

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I have had an opportunity of looking into, have convinced me, that the work has been conducted with that view to a diffusion of useful knowledge, upon which it was undertaken, and in such a manner as must meet the approbation of the friends of science, and those who wish to promote the best interests of mankind. I am persuaded, that, when the work becomes more generally known in this country, than it is at present, you will find a considerable demand for it from this quarter; for I believe I may say, without vanity, that my countrymen are as eager in the pursuit of useful knowledge as their circumstances and necessary avocations will permit; and, as these are every day becoming more favorable to such acquirements, it will not be an unfounded calculation to count upon an increasing demand here for such publications, as inform the head and improve the heart.

I hope you will find it convenient to prosecute your proposed plan of publishing a periodical work on agriculture, the utility of which pursuit is so abundantly evident, and in which, comparatively speaking, so little progress has been made, at least in this country. I am pleased to learn that you have been so successful in the experiments to improve your wool. I have been always convinced, that nothing more is necessary than an attention to the breed and management of sheep, to produce the best wool in every country that is suitable for tending them. I sincerely hope, that Sir John Sinclair will meet with the success, which his exertions merit, in this as well as in his other laudable undertakings to promote the good of society.

I am, Sir, with consideration and esteem, &c.

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Private.

Philadelphia, 5 May, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Before you despatch the circular letter, of which you enclosed me a copy, to the several collectors, I would speak to you respecting a particular clause in it.

In the conversation you may have with a certain gentleman* to-day, I pray you to intimate to him gently and delicately, that, if the letters or papers, which he has to present, are, knowingly to him, of a nature which relates to public matters, and not particularly addressed to me, or if he has any verbal communications to make of a similar kind, I had rather they should come through the proper channel. Add thereto, generally, that the peculiar situation of European affairs at this moment, my good wishes for his nation aggregately,

* This gentleman was the Viscount de Noailles, a French nobleman, who had served with distinction in the United States during the revolution. He married a sister of the Marchioness de Lafayette. Having engaged with enthusiasm in the early movements of the French revolution, and acted a conspicuous part, he at length found himself in a proscribed party, and was obliged to flee from his country to escape the rage of the contending factions. He passed by way of England to the United States. Mr. Pinckney, the American minister in London, wrote to President Washington as follows.

"M. de Noailles, who is the bearer of this, requires no introduction to you. His situation and services during the late war you witnessed; and you are well acquainted with the subsequent events, which placed him in his present predicament. You will find him warmly participating in the anxiety we all feel for the welfare of our friend, M. de Lafayette. On this subject I have only to say, that I have done whatever I thought consistent with propriety, in an unauthorized, unofficial manner, to alleviate his misfortune; and that I shall esteem myself peculiarly happy, if I can be instrumental in testifying the gratitude of my country to one, who has rendered it such eminent services, in any way that may be deemed expedient." — *London, March 13th.*

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my regard for those of it in particular, with whom I have had the honor of an acquaintance, my anxious desire to keep this country in peace, and the delicacy of my situation, render a circumspect conduct indispensably necessary on my part. I do not, however, mean by this, that I am to withhold from him such civilities as are common to others. Those more marked, notwithstanding our former acquaintance, would excite speculations, which had better be avoided; and if the gentlemen, similarly circumstanced, could be introduced by any other than himself, especially on Tuesday next, in the public room, when it is presumed the officers of the French frigate will be presented, it would unquestionably be better. But how this can be brought about, as they are strangers, without embarrassment, as the F. M.* is shy on the occasion, I do not at this moment see; for it may not escape observation, as every movement is watched, if the head of any department should appear prompt in this business, in the existing state of things.

I am, &c.

TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Private.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1793.

Dear Sir,

On Saturday last your favor of the 29th ultimo was handed to me. My visit to Mount Vernon, intended to be short when I set out, was curtailed by the declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland; for I foresaw, in the moment information of

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* French Minister.

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that event came to me at that place, the necessity for announcing the disposition of this country towards the belligerent powers, and the propriety of restraining, as far as a proclamation would do it, our citizens from taking part in the contest. This proclamation, I presume, must have reached you soon after the date of your letter.*

It gives me inexpressible pain to receive such frequent and distressing accounts from the western frontiers of this Union, occasioned by Indian hostilities; more especially as our hands are tied to defensive measures, and little if any thing more is to be expected from the proposed negotiation of peace with the hostile tribes, to be assembled at Sandusky, (though perhaps it is best for me to be silent on this head,) than in case of failure to let the people of these States see, that the executive has left nothing unessayed to accomplish this desirable end; to remove those suspicions, which have been unjustly entertained, that peace is not its object; and to evince to them, that the difficulties which it has had to encounter, from causes which at present can only be guessed, have been greater than was apprehended; and lastly, if the sword is to decide, that the arm of government may be enabled to strike home.

I come now to a more difficult part of your letter.†

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* In Governor Lee's letter, written before he received the proclamation, he had hinted at such a measure. "The minds of the people of my acquaintance," said he, "are much agitated by reports of privateers being fitted out in some of our ports. The considerate part of society hope for peace, which can only be obtained by strict neutrality. Do you not think your proclamation on this subject would be useful? Pardon the suggestion, and regard it only as my opinion; and you know how uninformed I must be on this subject."

† *From Governor Lee's Letter.* — "As soon after my hearing of your return to Mount Vernon as I could, I set out on a visit to you, but unfortunately your stay at home was so short that I could not see you. I had

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As a public character, I can say nothing on the subject of it. As a private man, I am unwilling to say much. Give advice I shall not. All I can do, then, towards complying with your request is to declare, that, if the case which you have suggested were mine, I should ponder well before I resolved; not only for private considerations, but on public grounds. The latter, because, being the first magistrate of a respectable State, much speculation would be excited by such a measure, and the consequences thereof not seen into at the first glance. As it might respect myself only, because it would appear a boundless ocean I was about to embark on, from whence no land is to be

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reached Stafford Court-House, when I accidentally learned that you had departed on the previous Sunday; and on knowing this I instantly turned back from whence I came. This disappointment would have always been mortifying to me, as it deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you; but it was uncommonly so then, as I had vast solicitude to obtain your opinion on a subject highly interesting to me personally.

"Bred to arms, I have always since my domestic calamity wished for a return to my profession, as the best resort for my mind in its affliction. Finding the serious turn, which the French affairs took last year, I interposed with the Marquis to obtain me a commission in their army, and at the same time made the same application in another way. The Marquis, about the time he got my letter, took the part, which issued so unfortunately to him. From him I had no reply. But from the other source I am informed, that a major-general's commission will be given to me on my appearance in Paris, and that probably it would be sent to me. I have detailed this to you, merely that your mind might be fully informed, inasmuch as the step I may take will be to me all-important. I am consequently solicitous for the best advice, and this I am persuaded you can give. Should it be improper on your part, much as I want it, I must relinquish the hope. But as your opinion to me will never be known but to myself, and as I ask your counsel in your private character, I feel a presumption in favor of my wishes.

"If fair war on terms of honor, with certainty of sustenance to the troops, and certainty of concert among the citizens, will and can be supported by France, I will embark. If the reverse in any part is probable, to go would be the completion of my lot of misery. You see my situation; you have experienced my secrecy in my younger days, and you know the inviolable affection I bear towards you. Apprehend no improper effects of your free opinion to me." — *Richmond, April 29th.*

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seen. In other words, because the affairs of [France] would seem to me to be in the highest paroxysm of disorder; not so much from the pressure of foreign enemies, for in the cause of liberty this ought to be fuel to the fire of a patriot soldier, and to increase his ardor, but because those in whose hands the government is intrusted are ready to tear each other to pieces, and will more than probably prove the worst foes the country has. To all which may be added the probability of the scarcity of bread, from the peculiar circumstances of the contending parties, which, if it should happen, would accelerate a crisis of sad confusion, and possibly of entire change in the political system.

The enclosed came under cover to me by one of the late arrivals. If the date of it is as old as the one to me, which accompanied it, it can contain nothing new. Although no name will appear to this letter, I beg it may be committed to the flames as soon as it is read. I need not add, because you must know it, that I am always yours.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 7 May, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

As I perceive there has been some misconception, respecting the building of vessels in our ports, which vessels may be converted into armed ones; and as I understand from the attorney-general, that there is to be a meeting to-day or to-morrow of the gentlemen on another occasion, I wish to have that part of your

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circular letter, which respects this matter, reconsidered by them before it goes out.

I am not disposed to adopt any measure, which may check ship-building in this country; nor am I satisfied that we should too promptly adopt measures in the first instance, that are not indispensably necessary. To take fair and supportable ground I conceive to be our best policy, and it is all that can be required of us by the powers at war; leaving the rest to be managed according to circumstances and the advantages to be derived from them. I am, &c.

TO M. DE TERNANT.

Philadelphia, May, 1793.

SIR,

The first intimation, which I received of your mission to the United States in the capacity you lately filled, gave me pleasure. I anticipated on your part a conduct, which, while it was calculated to promote the objects of your duty, would, in its manner, be pleasing to the government and citizens of this country. My anticipations have not been disappointed. Uniformly attentive to the advancement of the interests confided to your care, (notwithstanding the agitations and vicissitudes experienced in the government of your country,) the tenor of your official and private conduct throughout the course of your mission has appeared to me deserving of approbation, and has acquired to you a new title to my regard.

I give you this private and personal mark of my satisfaction and esteem in remembrance of your services as an officer in the army of the United States, and in consideration of the peculiar and extraordinary

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circumstances under which you have acted. With sentiments of attachment and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO THE PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF FRANCE.

VERY GREAT AND GOOD FRIENDS AND ALLIES,

The Citizen Ternant has delivered to me the letter wherein you inform me, that, yielding to his desire to serve his country in the military line, you had determined to recall him from his mission as your minister plenipotentiary to the United States. His conduct, during the term of his residence in this country, has been such as to meet my entire approbation and esteem; and it is with great pleasure that I render to him the justice of this testimony. In whatever line of service

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* The above letter was written at the request of M. de Ternant, communicated in the following note.

"Sir; I have just handed to the Secretary of State an official information of my recall, and of the appointment of Citizen Genet to be minister of the French Republic near the United States. Though I have reason to hope the official answer to my letter on the subject may do justice to my conduct, yet I cannot help wishing to obtain from you a personal and private assurance, that, notwithstanding the violent agitations and great vicissitudes experienced by the government of my country, I have always uniformly and faithfully attended to the interests intrusted to my care, and that my public and private conduct throughout the whole of my mission has appeared unexceptionable to you. I hope the expression of such a wish may neither prove disagreeable to you, nor be without effect. With lively sentiments of respect and attachment, believe me, &c." — *May 17th.*

On the back of the President's letter in reply to this note is the following endorsement.

"This letter was drafted in answer to the one which covers it; but, on reflection, was not sent, nor any written reply given to the recalled French minister; forasmuch as the motives to that recall were not communicated, and the policy of the measure questionable, as the consequences could not be foreseen."

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you may hereafter think proper to employ him, I have no doubt he will so conduct himself, as to merit well of his country, and to obtain its favor and protection.

I assure you, with a sincere participation of the great and constant friendship which these United States bear to the French nation, of the interest they feel in whatever concerns their happiness and prosperity, and of their wishes for a perpetual fraternity with them; and I pray God to have them and you, very great and good friends and allies, in his holy keeping.

Written at Philadelphia, this 24th day of May, 1793, and of the Independence of the United States the seventeenth.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 1 June, 1793.

SIR,

To call upon Mr. Hammond without further delay, for the result of the reference to his court concerning the surrender of the western posts, or to await the decision of the trial at Richmond on the subject of British debts before it be done, is a question on which my mind has balanced for some time.

If your own judgment is not decidedly in favor of one or the other, it is my desire, as the heads of the departments are now together, that you will take their opinions thereupon and act accordingly.

I am, Sir, &c.*

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* The affairs of the southern Indians were at this time under discussion. The following sentiments on this subject were communicated to the President by the different members of the cabinet.

"*June 1st.* — That an agent be sent to the Choctaw nation, to en-

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 6 June, 1793.

SIR,

Upon a mature consideration of your communication to me of the 3d instant,* recommending a still further loan in Holland, if obtainable, to the amount of three millions of florins, and stating that, in case the recommendation should meet my ideas, my special approbation thereof would be proper, I have thought

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deavour secretly to engage them to support the Chickasaws in their present war with the Creeks, giving them for that purpose arms and ammunition sufficient; and that it be kept in view, that, if we settle our differences amicably with the Creeks, we at the same time mediate effectually the peace of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, so as to rescue the former from the difficulties in which they are engaged, and the latter from those into which we may have been instrumental in engaging them.

"TH. JEFFERSON.

"H. KNOX.

"Although I approve of the general policy of employing Indians against Indians, yet I doubt greatly whether it ought to be exercised under the particular existing circumstances with Spain, who may hold herself bound to take the part of the Creeks, and criminate the United States for some degree of insincerity.

"EDMUND RANDOLPH.

"My judgment balanced a considerable time on the proposed measure; but it has at length decided against it, and very materially on this ground, that I do not think the United States can honorably, or morally, or with good policy, embark the Choctaws in the war, without a determination to extricate them from the consequences, even by force. Accordingly it is proposed, that, in settling our difficulties with the Creeks, 'we *mediate effectually* the peace of the Chickasaws and Choctaws;' which I understand to mean, that we are to insist with the Creeks on such terms of peace for them, as shall appear to us equitable, and, if refused, will exert ourselves *to procure them by arms*. I am unwilling, all circumstances foreign and domestic considered, to embarrass the government with such an obligation.

"ALEXANDER HAMILTON."

* *From the Secretary's Letter.*—"The failure of the late enterprise against the United Netherlands may be expected to have made a favorable alteration in regard to the prospects of obtaining loans there for

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it necessary, in order to make the subject clear to my mind, before any steps are taken in it, to request you to give me information on the following points.

First; Whether all the moneys, borrowed under the acts of the 4th and 12th of August, 1790, have been expended on their respective objects. If not, what is the balance?

Second; Under which of the two laws do you propose that a loan should be opened?

Third; If under one or the other, or both, what is the balance remaining unborrowed?

Fourth; To what use is the money proposed to be borrowed to be applied? I am, &c.

TO THE MARCHIONESS DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 13 June, 1793.

DEAR MADAM,

While I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of March, I can with the greatest truth assure you, that I feel a sincere sympathy in your affliction on account of M. de Lafayette. And to show you, that I have not been unmindful of your condition, and how earnestly I have been disposed to alleviate

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the United States. Such an expectation is also countenanced by a late letter from our bankers at Amsterdam, which however as yet gives no certainty that can be a basis of operation.

"The existing instructions from this department to Mr. Short do not extend beyond two millions of florins. A comprehensive view of the affairs of the United States in various relations appears to me to recommend a still further loan, if obtainable. Yet I do not think it advisable to take the step, by virtue of the general powers from you, without your special approbation; particularly as there is little probability, that the loan can be effected on better terms than five per cent interest and four per cent charges. The further loan which I should contemplate would embrace three millions of florins." — *June 3d.*

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your sufferings, so far as in my power, I enclose to you duplicates of two letters, which I had the honor of writing to you on the 31st of January and 16th of March last. To these I can only add my most ardent prayers, that you may be again united to M. de Lafayette, under circumstances that may be joyful to you both; and that the evening of that life, whose morning has been devoted to the cause of liberty and humanity, may be crowned with the best of Heaven's blessings. With sentiments of sincere attachment to yourself and your dear offspring, I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 16 June, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I should be glad if you would give the enclosed report* a perusal, and let me know if you think the reasons therein given are sufficient to authorize the additional loan of three millions of florins, applied for by the Secretary of the Treasury in a letter which you have seen.

The answers contained in the report show the points on which I required information from him. In addition to the motives assigned in the report for borrowing the additional sum, there are others (if the act of doing it is warranted by law) very cogent in my mind, as inducements to the measure, namely, the uncertain result of the Indian treaty, the invasion of our southern frontiers, and the peculiarly delicate situation in which we are placed with respect to some of the belligerent powers, who, in spite of all we can do, may involve

* The report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

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us in a dispute with one or other of them; in which case it might be too late for us to effect a loan in Europe.

If the propriety of borrowing on the plan and for the purposes mentioned in the report is clear in your mind, the report may be returned by the bearer; if not, any time before noon to-morrow may do.

I am, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 20 June, 1793.

SIR,

I have received and paid attention to your report of the 15th instant. The result is, that the loan of two millions of florins ought, in my opinion, to be urged without delay, if it can be obtained within the limitations of the law. The further proposal of borrowing three millions of florins in addition, I shall, seeing no inconvenience that will arise from the delay, take a few days longer to consider; as some reasons occur against as well as for the measure, in the present unsettled state of credit, and military and other operations in Europe.

In the mean time it would contribute to my understanding of the subject better, if you were to let me know how the whole sum borrowed under the acts of the 4th and 12th of August, 1790, instead of the sums which have been transferred to the United States, has been applied; and whether the two hundred thousand dollars, "first instalment to the Bank of the United States," is a legal charge, under those acts or any other, in the account A. referred to in the report; also,

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whether the two hundred and eighty-four thousand nine hundred and one dollars and eighty-nine cents, expended in the purchase of the public debt, do not appear in the report of the commissioners of the sinking fund, or some other report made to Congress last session, as appertaining more properly to the surplus revenue.

I ask these questions for information; because, if the answer should be in the affirmative, the difference will be very material, and, when added to the balance of five hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and eighty-four dollars and twenty-eight cents, as per your statement A, would, with the two millions of florins negotiating, cover all the ascertained demands upon the United States for the years 1793 and 1794, exclusive of what may be required for the sinking fund; for which you have made no specific appropriation whereby to form an estimate of the aggregate sum required.

I am, &c.*

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* Mr. Hamilton had at this time resolved to resign his place as Secretary of the Treasury, and gave notice of his design to the President.

"Considerations," said he, "relative both to the public interest and to my own delicacy, have brought me, after mature reflection, to a resolution to resign the office I hold, towards the close of the ensuing session of Congress. I postpone the final act to that period, because some propositions remain to be submitted by me to Congress, which are necessary to the full developement of my plan, and, as I suppose, of some consequence to my reputation; and because, in the second place, I am desirous of giving an opportunity, while I shall be still in office, to the revival and more deliberate prosecution of the inquiry into my conduct, which was instituted during the last session.

"I think it proper to communicate my determination thus early, among other reasons, because it will afford full time to investigate and weigh all the considerations, which ought to guide the appointment of my successor." — *June 21st.*

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 20 June, 1793.

SIR,

I leave it to you, and the heads of the other two departments, to say what or whether any answer should be given to the British minister's letter of the 19th. It would seem as if neither he, nor the Spanish commissioners, were to be satisfied with any thing this government can do; but, on the contrary, are resolved to drive matters to extremity. Yours, &c.*

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 30 June, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed letter from the governor of New York, covering a communication to him from the consul of the French Republic at that place, respecting the continuance of a British letter of marque in the harbour of New York, reached my hands by the post of last evening; and I now transmit it to you, that it may be taken into consideration by yourself and the other heads of the departments, as soon as may be after this letter gets to your hands. If you should be unanimous in your opinions, as to the measures which ought to be pursued by the government, in the case now communicated, you, or the Secretary at War, to whose department it belongs, will transmit in my name the result of your deliberations on the subject to the governor

* Shortly after writing this letter the President left Philadelphia, and was absent two or three weeks on a visit to Mount Vernon. On the 4th of July he was at Alexandria, by an invitation of the citizens to be present at the celebration of that anniversary.

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of New York for his information, and to be communicated by him to the French consul at that place.

But, in case there should be a difference of sentiment among the gentlemen on the matter, I must request that the several opinions may be sent to me for my consideration, and the governor of New York informed, that a decision will be had in the case as soon as I return to the seat of government, which I expect will be about the 10th of next month, notwithstanding the death of my manager, and the consequent derangement of my concerns, would make my presence here for a longer time, at this important season, almost indispensable. But I know the urgency and delicacy of our public affairs at present will not permit me to be longer absent. I must therefore submit with the best grace I can to the loss and inconvenience, which my private affairs will sustain from the want of my personal attention, or that of a confidential character, of the obtaining of whom I have no prospect at present.

I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 11 July, 1793.

SIR,

After I had read the papers, which were put into my hands by you, requiring "instant attention," and before a messenger could reach your office, you had left town.

What is to be done in the case of the *Little Sarah* now at Chester? Is the minister of the French Republic to set the acts of this government at defiance *with impunity?* And then threaten the executive with an appeal to the people? What must the world think

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of such conduct, and of the government of the United States in submitting to it?

These are serious questions. Circumstances press for decision, and, as you have had time to consider them, (upon me they come unexpectedly,) I wish to know your opinion upon them, even before to-morrow, for the vessel may then be gone. I am, &c.*

TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Private.

Philadelphia, 17 July, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I have duly received your letter of the 8th instant, enclosing papers respecting our unfortunate citizens, captives in Algiers, and now return them to you, with my thanks for your attention in communicating them.

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* *From Mr. Jefferson's Note of the same date.* — "Thomas Jefferson presents his respects to the President. He had expected that the Secretaries of the Treasury and War would have given to the President immediately the statement of facts in the case of the *Little Sarah*, as drawn by the former and agreed to, as also their reasons; but, Colonel Hamilton having informed Thomas Jefferson, that he has not been able to prepare copies, Thomas Jefferson sends the President the copies they had given him, which being prefixed to his opinion will make the case complete, as it is proper the President should see both sides of it at once. T. J. has had a fever the two last nights, which has held him till the morning. Something of the same is now coming on him; but nothing but absolute inability will prevent his being in town early to-morrow morning.

"T. J. had written the above before he had the honor of the President's note on the subject of this vessel. He has received assurance from M. Genet to-day, that she will not be gone before the President's decision. T. J. is himself of opinion, that whatever is aboard of her of arms, ammunition, or men, contrary to the rules heretofore laid down by the President, ought to be withdrawn. On this subject he will have the honor of conferring with the President, or any others, whenever he pleases." — *July 11th.*

Other explanations are contained in the minutes of a conversation between Mr. Jefferson and M. Genet. See APPENDIX, No. XVI.

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In all our attempts to accommodate matters with the Algerines, and to relieve our citizens held in captivity by them, we have been peculiarly unfortunate. Besides the death of Captain Paul Jones and of Mr. Barclay, many other untoward circumstances have occurred in that business to prevent its being brought to a point. But I believe it is unnecessary to say to you, my dear Sir, that no measure, which it has been in my power to pursue, in order to terminate that matter favorably, has been left untried; and things are now in the best train for effecting that purpose, that circumstances will admit of. With very great regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Private.

Philadelphia, 21 July, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I should have thanked you at an earlier period for your obliging letter of the 14th ultimo,* had it not come to my hands a day or two only before I set out for Mount Vernon, and at a time when I was much hurried, and indeed, very much perplexed with the disputes, memorials, and what not, with which the government were pestered by one or the other of the petulant representatives of the powers at war, and because, since my return to this city, nine days ago, I have been more than ever overwhelmed with their complaints. In a word, the trouble they give is hardly to be described.

My journey to and from Mount Vernon was rapid,

* See this letter in the APPENDIX, No. XVII.

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and as short as I could make it. It was occasioned by the unexpected death of Mr. Whiting, my manager, at a critical season for the business with which he was intrusted. How to supply his place I know not; of course my concerns at Mount Vernon are left as a body without a head; but this by the by.

The communications in your letter were pleasing and grateful; for, although I have done no public act with which my mind upbraids me, yet it is highly satisfactory to learn, that the things which I do, of an interesting tendency to the peace and happiness of this country, are generally approved by my fellow citizens. But, were the case otherwise, I should not be less inclined to know the sense of the people upon every matter of great public concern; for, as I have no wish superior to that of promoting the happiness and welfare of this country, so, consequently, it is only for me to know the means to accomplish the end, if it be within the compass of my powers.

That there are in this, as well as in all other countries, discontented characters, I well know; as also that these characters are actuated by very different views; some good, from an opinion that the measures of the general government are impure; some bad, and, if I might be allowed to use so harsh an expression, diabolical, inasmuch as they are not only meant to impede the measures of that government generally, but more especially, as a great means towards the accomplishment of it, to destroy the confidence, which it is necessary for the people to place, until they have unequivocal proof of demerit, in their public servants. In this light I consider myself, whilst I am an occupant of office; and, if they were to go further and call me their slave, during this period, I would not dispute the point.

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But in what will this abuse terminate? For the result, as it respects myself, I care not; for I have a consolation within, that no earthly efforts can deprive me of, and that is, that neither ambitious nor interested motives have influenced my conduct. The arrows of malevolence, therefore, however barbed and well pointed, never can reach the most vulnerable part of me; though, whilst I am up as a *mark*, they will be continually aimed. The publications in Freneau's and Bache's papers are outrages on common decency; and they progress in that style, in proportion as their pieces are treated with contempt, and are passed by in silence, by those at whom they are aimed. The tendency of them, however, is too obvious to be mistaken by men of cool and dispassionate minds, and, in my opinion, ought to alarm them; because it is difficult to prescribe bounds to the effect.

The light in which you endeavoured to place the views and conduct of this country to M. Genet, and the sound policy thereof, as it respected his own, was unquestionably the true one, and such as a man of penetration, left to himself, would most certainly have viewed them in; but *mum* on this head. Time may unfold more than prudence ought to disclose at present. With esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO JOHN JAY, CHIEF JUSTICE, AND JAMES WILSON, JAMES IREDELL, AND WILLIAM PATTERSON, ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Philadelphia, 23 July, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

The circumstances, which had induced me to ask your counsel on certain legal questions interesting to

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the public, exist now as they did then; but I by no means press a decision, whereon you wish the advice and participation of your absent brethren. Whenever, therefore, their presence shall enable you to give it with more satisfaction to yourselves, I shall accept it with pleasure. With sentiments of high respect, I am, &c.*

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 25 July, 1793.

SIR,

A letter from Colonel S. Smith of Baltimore to the Secretary of the Treasury, giving information of the conduct of the privateers *Citizen Genet* and *Sans Culotte*, is sent for your perusal; after which it may be returned, because contained therein is a matter, which respects the treasury department solely.

As the letter of the minister of the Republic of France, dated the 22d of June, lies yet unanswered, and as the official conduct of that gentleman, relative to the affairs of this government, will have to undergo a very serious consideration (so soon as the special court at which the attorney-general is now engaged will allow him to attend with convenience), in order to decide upon measures proper to be taken thereupon, it is my desire that all the letters to and from that minister may be ready to be laid before me, the heads of departments, and the attorney-general, whom I shall advise with on the occasion, together with the minutes of such official oral communications, as you

* See the Queries, forwarded for the consideration of the judges, in the APPENDIX, No. XVIII.

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may have had with him on the subject of those letters. And as the memorials from the British minister and answers thereto are materially connected therewith, it will be proper, I conceive, to have these ready also. I am, &c.

TO THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS AND THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Philadelphia, 29 July, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

It will not be amiss, I conceive, at the meeting you are about to have to-day, to consider the expediency of directing the custom-house officers to be attentive to the arming or equipping of vessels, either for offensive or defensive war, in the several ports to which they belong, and make report thereof to the governor or some other proper officer.

Unless this, or some other effectual mode is adopted to check this evil in the first stage of its growth, the executive of the United States will be incessantly harassed with complaints on this head, and probably when it may be difficult to afford a remedy. I am, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 31 July, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

As there are several matters, which must remain in a suspended state, perhaps not very conveniently, until a decision is had on the conduct of the minister of the French Republic, and as the attorney-general will, more than probably, be engaged at the Supreme

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Court next week, it is my wish, under these circumstances, to enter upon the consideration of the letters of that minister to-morrow at nine o'clock. I therefore desire you will be here at that hour, and bring with you all his letters, your answers, and such other papers as are connected therewith.

As the consideration of this business may require some time, I should be glad if you and the other gentlemen would take a family dinner with me at four o'clock. No other company is or will be invited.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS AND THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Philadelphia, 3 August, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

Fresh occurrences, but communicated through private channels, make it indispensable that the general principles, which have already been the subject of discussion, should be fixed and made known for the government of all concerned, as soon as it can be done with propriety.

To fix rules on substantial grounds, conformably to treaties and the laws of nations, is extremely desirable.

The verdict of the jury, in the case of Henfield, and the decision of yesterday respecting the French minister, added to the situation of Indian affairs, and the general complexion of public matters, induce me to ask your advice whether it be proper, or not, to convene the legislature at an earlier day than that on which it is to meet by law; and, if it be thought advisable, at what time. I am, &c.*

* The question, whether Congress should be immediately called, had been considered in the cabinet, and unanimously decided in the nega-

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 4 August, 1793.

SIR,

If the heads of departments and the attorney-general, who have prepared the eight rules, which you handed to me yesterday, are well satisfied that they are not repugnant to treaties, or to the laws of nations, and moreover are the best we can adopt to maintain neutrality, I not only give them my approbation, but desire they may be made known without delay for the information of all concerned.

The same expression will do for the other paper, which has been subscribed as above, and submitted to my consideration, for restoring or making restitution of prizes under the circumstances therein mentioned.

It is proper you should be informed, that the minister of France intends to leave this city for New York to-morrow; and not amiss, perhaps, to know, that, in mentioning the seasonable aid of hands, which the *Ambuscade* received from the French Indiaman the day preceding her meeting the *Boston*, he added, that seamen would no longer be wanting, as he had now fifteen hundred at his command. This being the case, (although the allusion was to the subject he was then speaking upon,) some of these men may be employed in the equipment of privateers, other than those now in existence, as the right of fitting out such in our ports is asserted in unequivocal terms.

Was the propriety of convening the legislature at

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tive. On the question, whether it should be summoned to convene before the time fixed by law, there was a difference of opinion. Mr. Jefferson was in favor of the measure, and thought the first Monday in November would be the proper time. Hamilton, Randolph, and Knox were opposed to it. Their written opinions were sent to the President.

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an earlier day, than that on which it is to assemble by law, considered yesterday?

The late decree of the National Convention of France, dated the 19th of May, authorizing their ships of war and armed vessels to stop any neutral vessel loaded in whole or in part with provisions, and send them into their ports, adds another motive for the adoption of this measure. I am, &c.*

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.†

Philadelphia, 12 August, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I clearly understood you on Saturday, and of what I conceive to be two evils must prefer the least, that is, to dispense with your temporary absence in the autumn, in order to retain you in office till January, rather than part with you altogether at the close of September.

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* For the *Eight Rules* mentioned in this letter, and other papers explanatory of the same subject, see APPENDIX, No. XIX.

† This letter has reference to the following note, written by the Secretary of State the day before.

"T. Jefferson, with his respects to the President, begs leave to express in writing more exactly what he meant to have said yesterday. A journey home in the autumn is of a necessity, which he cannot control, after the arrangements he has made, and, when there, it would be his extreme wish to remain; but if his continuance in office to the last of December, as intimated by the President, would, by bringing the two appointments nearer together, enable him to marshal them more beneficially to the public, and more to his own satisfaction, either motive will suffice to induce T. J. to continue till that time. He submits it therefore to the President's judgment, which he will be glad to receive when convenient, as the arrangements he has taken may require some change." — *August 11th.*

A few days previously Mr. Jefferson had formally notified to the President his intention to resign his office.

"When you did me the honor," said he, "of appointing me to the office I now hold, I engaged in it without a view of continuing any length

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It would be an ardent wish of mine, that your continuance in office, even at the expense of some sacrifice of inclination, could have been through the whole of the ensuing session of Congress, for many, very many weighty reasons, which present themselves to my mind; one of which, and not the least, is, that in my judgment the affairs of this country, as they relate to foreign powers, Indian disturbances, and internal policy, will have taken a more decisive and I hope agreeable form than they now bear before that time, when perhaps other public servants might also indulge in retirement. If this cannot be, my next wish is, that your absence from the seat of government in the autumn may be as short as you conveniently can make it.

With much esteem and regard, I am, &c.

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of time; and I pretty early concluded on the close of the first four years of our republic as a proper period for withdrawing, which I had the honor of communicating to you.

"When the period however arrived, circumstances had arisen, which, in the opinion of some of my friends, rendered it proper to postpone my purpose for a while. Those circumstances have now ceased in such a degree, as to leave me free to think again of a day on which I may withdraw, without its exciting disadvantageous opinions or conjectures of any kind. The close of the present quarter seems to be a convenient period; because the quarterly accounts of the domestic department are then settled of course, and by that time also I may hope to receive from abroad the materials for bringing up the foreign account to the end of its third year. At the close, therefore, of the ensuing month of September, I shall beg leave to retire to scenes of greater tranquillity, from those for which I am every day more and more convinced, that neither my talents, tone of mind, nor time of life, fit me.

"I have thought it my duty to mention the matter thus early, that there may be time for the arrival of a successor from any part of the Union, from which you may think proper to call one. That you may find one more able to lighten the burthen of your labors, I most sincerely wish; for no man living more sincerely wishes, that your administration could be rendered as pleasant to yourself, as it is useful and necessary to our country, nor feels for you a more rational or cordial attachment and respect than, dear Sir," &c. — *July 31st.*

Mr. Jefferson has given the substance of a long conversation with the President on the same subject. JEFFERSON's *Writings*, Vol. IV. p. 492.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 19 August, 1793.

SIR,

I send, for the consideration and opinion of the heads of departments and the attorney-general of the United States, a communication from the governor of Pennsylvania respecting the privateer *Citizen Genet*, together with copies of two letters from the French consul to the governor on the same subject, and a report of persons, who had examined the aforesaid privateer by the governor's order, which were enclosed in the governor's letter to me.

The gentlemen will decide, whether these circumstances reported respecting the unfitness of the said privateer to proceed to sea are such, as would make it proper to depart from the rules already adopted, and allow a longer time for her to prepare to depart, than is granted by the governor, or whether the orders given by him on this head shall be executed.

It will be seen that the subject requires despatch, and the Secretary of War will inform the governor of the result of your deliberations on this subject as soon as it is given. I am, &c.

TO WILLIAM MOULTRIE, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Philadelphia, 28 August, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 11th of last month. Having conceived an opinion highly favorable to General Pickens, I invited him to repair to this city, in order that I might obtain from him such facts and

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information, as would be essential to an offensive expedition against the refractory part of the Creek nation, whenever Congress should decide that measure to be proper and necessary. The constitution vests the power of declaring war in Congress; therefore no offensive expedition of importance can be undertaken until after they shall have deliberated upon the subject, and authorized such a measure.

It is essential for you to know, (which is communicated to you in confidence) that, under the present circumstances, it is not improbable that an offensive Creek war might bring on a war with a European power, whose possessions are in the neighbourhood of the Creeks.

From recent information from Mr. Seagrove, it would appear, that a considerable portion of the Creeks, particularly the upper Creeks, were determined to make satisfaction for the injuries, which have been done by that nation; but the bearers of this message were killed by a party of militia; the consequences of which time will develope.

I have had just reason to be satisfied with the information of General Pickens; and, if the time should arrive when an expedition shall be directed, I should be greatly gratified by his taking an eminent part therein. I have the honor to be, with respect and esteem, dear Sir, &c.

TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Private.

Philadelphia, 9 September, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

It was the opinion of the gentlemen at their meeting on Saturday last, if I mistake not, that Mr.

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Wolcott should be desired to request Mr. Webster to substantiate the language of the minister of the French republic, as related by him in the enclosed letter.

Colonel Hamilton's situation, for which I feel extreme regret,* does not permit his having any agency in the matter at present. I therefore send the letter, which he forwarded to me, from Mr. Webster to Mr. Wolcott, to your care, being persuaded that whatever measure shall be deemed right and proper will be put in train by you.

I think it would not be prudent either for you, or the clerks in your office, or the office itself, to be too much exposed to the malignant fever, which, by well authenticated report, is spreading through the city. The means to avoid it, your own judgment under existing circumstances must dictate.

As the spreading and continuance of the disorder may render it unadvisable for me to return to this city so soon as I at first intended, I would thank you, in case you should remain in the vicinity of it, to write me a line by every Monday's post, informing me concisely of the then state of matters, with other occurrences, which may be essential for me to be made acquainted with.

And I would thank you also for your advice to Mr. Fraunces, or Mrs. Emerson (the house-keeper), if by means of the disorder my household affairs in this city should be involved in any delicacy. I sincerely wish and pray, that you and yours may escape untouched, and, when we meet again, that it may be under circumstances more pleasing than the present. I am always and very sincerely your affectionate, &c.

* He was ill with the malignant fever.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Chester, 10 September, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I return from this place the papers, which you put into my hands on the road to-day. The unpromising state of the negotiation at Madrid, and the opinion of the commissioners, that their commission should be withdrawn, and matters in that court placed *in statu quo*, deserve very serious consideration. I pray you to give it; and if it rests altogether with the executive, after the agency the Senate have taken in the business, let me know the result.

Mr. Carmichael must not be the person left there; for from him we should never hear a tittle of what is going forward at the court of Madrid.

I am yours, &c.*

TO EDMUND PENDLETON.

Mount Vernon, 23 September, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

With very sincere pleasure I received your private letter of the 11th instant. This pleasure was not a little enhanced by your reiterated assurance of my still holding that place in your estimation, of which, on more occasions than one, you have given me the most flattering testimony, highly gratifying to my mind. This assurance came opportunely, as I had begun to conceive, though unable to assign a cause, that some part of my public conduct, however well-meant my

* For a considerable time there had been great complaint of neglect against Mr. Carmichael, the American *Chargé d'Affaires* at Madrid, in regard to his correspondence with his government.

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endeavours, had appeared unfavorably in your eyes; for you will please to recollect, that formerly you promised me, and I always expected, an annual letter from you. It is now, if my memory has not failed me, at least four years since I have had that pleasure.

Sequestered you say you are from the world, and know little of what is transacting in it, but from newspapers. I regret this exceedingly. I wish you had more to do on the great theatre, and that your means of information were equal to your abilities and the disposition I know you to possess to judge properly of public measures. It would be better, perhaps, for that public, if it should be so; for, be assured, we have some infamous papers, calculated to disturb the public mind, if not absolutely intended to do mischief.

With respect to the fiscal conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, I will say nothing, because an inquiry, it is more than probable, will be instituted during the next session of Congress into some of the allegations against him, which eventually may involve the whole; and because, if I mistake not, he will seek, rather than shrink from an investigation. A fair opportunity will, in that case, be offered to the impartial world to form a just estimate of his acts, and probably of his motives. No one, I will venture to say, wishes more devoutly than I do, that they may be probed to the bottom, be the result what it may.*

* Mr. Pendleton had expressed himself with much freedom on the subject of the treasury department, having imbibed the sentiments of the party opposed to the measures pursued by the Secretary.

"I am an utter stranger," said he, "to the gentleman at the head of that department, and pretty much so to the detail of his conduct; but I will confess to you, Sir, that all his reports on ways and means, from that on the funding system to the present day, have impressed me with an idea of his having made the system of the British ministry the model of his conduct as assumed American primate, choosing rather to trust to a moneyed interest he has created, for the support of his measures,

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With the most scrupulous truth I can assure you, that your free and unreserved opinion, upon any public measure of importance, will always be acceptable to me, whether it respects men or measures; and on no man do I wish it to be expressed more fully than on myself, for, as I can conscientiously declare, I have no object in view incompatible with the constitution, and the obvious interests of this country, nor any earthly desire half so strong as that of returning to the walks of private life; so, of consequence, I only wish, whilst I am a servant of the public, to know the will of my masters, that I may govern myself accordingly.

You do me no more than justice when you suppose, that, from motives of respect to the legislature (and I might add from my interpretation of the constitution), I give my signature to many bills, with which my judgment is at variance. In saying this, however,

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than to their rectitude. I do not say these were his motives, but such they appear to me; and I fear we shall long feel the effects of the system if it were now to be changed, which it is supposed would be improper, at least as to the funding system.

"The non-discrimination, which he so much labored, appeared to me a sacrifice of the substance of justice to its shadow; its effects to throw unearned wealth into a few unmeriting hands, instead of diffusing it (after repaying them their purchase money) to those, who entitled themselves to it by the most meritorious consideration. The assumption of the State debts in a lump, before it was ascertained that they were created for common benefit (which would make them an equitable charge on the Union), seemed to me unaccountable, unless derived from the Secretary's position, that increase of public debt is beneficial; a maxim adopted by the British cabinet, but unsupported by reason or other example, and its national effects there strangely misrepresented.

"The various kinds and value of the new certificates I see inconveniences in, but can discover no other reason for, than to give the rich speculators at or near the seat of government an advantage over the distant, uninformed, unwary, or distressed citizens; and the recommended irredeemable quality, as a means of increasing their credit in circulation, is a paradox of which no solution has yet occurred to my mind." — *September* 11*th*.

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I allude to *no particular* act. From the nature of the constitution I must approve all the parts of a bill, or reject it *in toto*. To do the latter can only be justified upon the clear and obvious ground of propriety; and I never had such confidence in my own faculty of judging, as to be ever tenacious of the opinions I may have imbibed in doubtful cases.

Mrs. Washington, who enjoys tolerable health, joins me most cordially in best wishes to you and Mrs. Pendleton. I wish you may live long, continue in good health, and end your days, as you have been wearing them away, happily and respected. Always and very affectionately yours, &c.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Mount Vernon, 30 September, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

The continuation and spreading of the malignant fever, with which the city of Philadelphia is visited, together with the absence of the heads of departments therefrom, will prolong my abode at this place until about the 25th of October; at or about which time, I shall myself, if the then state of things should render it improper for me to take my family, set out for that city, or the vicinity, say Germantown.

I shall be obliged to you, therefore, if you remain at your post, which I by no means wish you to do at the hazard of taking the fever, to keep me advised of the existing state of things in that quarter, and, moreover, that you would be so obliging, if it should be thought unsafe for me to go into my own house in the city at the time above mentioned, as to inquire if a tolerably convenient lodging for myself, one gen-

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tleman of my family, with three servants, and as many horses, could be had in or near Germantown. To prevent any misunderstanding of my meaning, I declare explicitly, that it is *hired lodgings only* I will go into; for, unless such can be had, I would repair to one of the most decent inns. I have given notice to the heads of departments of these my intentions, requesting their attendance accordingly, at the time and place mentioned.

Have you ever examined with attention, and with an eye to the case, whether the constitution or laws of the Union give power to the executive to change the place of the meeting of the legislature in cases of emergency occurring in the recess? For example, whether the spreading of the fever, which is so fatal in Philadelphia, thereby endangering the lives of the members, who might assemble there on the first Monday in December next, is a case that would come under any provision in either. If you have not, I pray you to do it, and give me the result of your opinion.*

* Mr. Randolph did not think that the President had power to change the place of the meeting of Congress. He drew up an official paper on the subject, but his opinion is expressed in the following extract from one of his letters.

"I have travelled over the subject of your interposition, as to the place for the next session of Congress, but have not been able to complete my remarks on paper. They will be ready on your arrival at Germantown. In the mean time, I beg leave to suggest the result of my reflections, as being adverse to a call of Congress from the executive. It seems to be unconstitutional. It is also unnecessary at this moment; for if the two Houses should happen to meet within the limits of Philadelphia on the first Monday in December, they may adjourn to some other place. If they do not meet, then the President will stand justified to convene them; inasmuch as a failure to meet in the present posture of public affairs on the appointed day will, by producing a well-grounded apprehension that they may not assemble for a long time, of itself create an "*extraordinary occasion.*" Some days may be lost, if the members may not have come into the neighbourhood; but not many more than by

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Mr. Jefferson, upon a superficial view of the subject when here, thought there was no power in either to do this. But the laws were not examined carefully, and the constitution is, I believe, silent respecting it. Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes for you, Mrs. Randolph, and family. I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 11 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Your despatch of the 3d, with its several enclosures, reached Alexandria on Wednesday evening, and got to my hands yesterday morning.

To a letter written to you a few days ago, I refer for the time and place mentioned for the meeting of the heads of departments, and hope it will be convenient for you to attend. If I do not take a circuitous route by Fredericktown in Maryland, I shall not leave this place before the 28th, and in that case should be glad of your company, if it is not incon-

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an adjournment of their own to a new place. By my mode, the object will be accomplished in an easy and natural course; by a summons from the President, serious discontents may be excited.

"I ought however to inform you, Sir, that the governor of Pennsylvania (whose authority is, so far as the constitution of this State goes, nearly the same with yours) will probably call his legislature a few days before the regular meeting to Germantown, instead of Philadelphia. Mr. Dallas thinks that he may do so with safety; but the question is to be submitted to the attorney-general. He tells me that Mr. Rawle is of opinion, that, although you should convene Congress, they must assemble in the first instance at Philadelphia. I intended to consult with him and Mr. Lewis; but having heard from Major Lenox, that Colonel Hamilton came home last night, I shall postpone going over to them, until I can converse with him. But, in pursuance of your instruction, I enclose what appears to be a proper proclamation, if my sentiments should unfortunately not accord with your decision." — *October 24th.*

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venient for you to call. Since writing that letter, however, I have received the enclosed from the attorney-general, which may make a change of place necessary; but I shall wait further advices before this is resolved on.

I have also received a letter from the late Speaker, Trumbull,* and, as I understand, sentiments similar to his are entertained by others. What had I best do? You were of opinion when here, that neither the constitution nor laws gave power to the President to convene Congress at any other place, than where the seat of government is fixed by their own act. Twelve days ago I wrote to the attorney-general for an official opinion on this head, but have received no answer. If the importance and urgency of the case, arising from the unabating fever in Philadelphia, would justify calling the legislature at any other place, where ought it to be? This, if Germantown is affected with the malady, involves the executive in a serious and delicate decision. Wilmington and Trenton are equidistant in opposite directions, both on the great thoroughfare, equally dangerous, and would, I presume, be equally obnoxious to one or other set of members, according to their situations. Annapolis has conveniences, but it might be thought I had interested and local views in naming this place. What sort of a town then is Reading? And how would it answer? Neither northern nor southern members would have cause to complain of its situation. Lancaster favors the southern ones most.

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* He said he thought the occasion sufficiently "extraordinary" to warrant the President to use his discretionary power to convene the national legislature by a special call, and also at *some other place* than that to which Congress then stood adjourned. He added, that unless this discretionary power should interpose, a majority of the two Houses *must* assemble in Philadelphia, however great might be the danger, before an adjournment could be made to a place of safety and convenience.

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You will readily perceive, if any change takes place, not a moment is to be lost in the notification, by a simple statement of facts (among which, I presume, the house intended for them in Philadelphia will be unfinished), and by an intimation that I shall be at a certain place days before the 1st of December to meet them in their legislative capacity, or to advise with them on measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. If something of this sort should strike you favorably, draw, and if necessary sign, a proper instrument, to avoid delay, leaving the place blank, but giving your opinion thereon. Germantown would certainly have been the best place for them to meet in the first instance, there to take ulterior resolutions without involving the executive.

I have no objection to the director of the mint, with your concurrence, choosing an engraver in place of Mr. Wright. No report has been made to me relative to the tonnage of the French ships from St. Domingo.

Major Lenox, I perceive by the papers, is marshal of the district of Pennsylvania. Limits of jurisdiction and protection must lie over till we meet, when I request you would remind me of them.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.*

TO THOMAS SIM LEE, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

Mount Vernon, 13 October, 1793.

Sir,

The letter, with which your Excellency was pleased to favor me, dated the 7th instant, was received on

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* See the reply in the Appendix. No. XX.

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the 10th, and might have been acknowledged the next day; but I waited the arrival of Friday's mail, in hopes that I should have had a report from the Secretary of War respecting the ship *Rochampton*. Disappointed in this, I am not able to give you any opinion thereon, uninformed as I am of the specific articles of charges exhibited by the British consul. The French minister complains of the detention.

With respect to the second case mentioned in your letter, and those of the British consuls, I have only to observe, that, as these gentlemen cannot but know, that the custom-house officers in every port are instructed to keep a vigilant watch upon all armed vessels, and the presumption being, that they are not inattentive, there seems to have been no necessity for lodging a complaint unaccompanied with proofs.

It is scarcely possible to give instructions, which will embrace minutely every case that may arise during the war; nor do I conceive it to be essential. Your Excellency will readily perceive, by the communications which have been made to you, the *principles* upon which the general government act, in the recess of Congress, respecting the belligerent powers. These principles are, to adhere strictly to treaties, according to the plain construction and obvious meaning of them, and, regarding these, to act impartially towards all the nations at war. Keeping these principles in view, and observing the rules which are founded on them, with your disposition to do justice, and to preserve this country in peace, I persuade myself that you can be at no loss, and that your decisions will be always right; and I hope they will always be prompt.

Being removed from the public offices, and intending when I left Philadelphia not to be absent more than fifteen or eighteen days, I brought no public

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papers of any sort, not even the rules which have been established in these cases, along with me. Consequently I am not prepared at this place to decide points, which may require a reference to papers not within my reach. But, as I find cases are daily occurring, which call for attention and decision, I have requested the heads of the departments to attend at Philadelphia or the vicinity, by the 1st of next month, whither I shall go and be present myself. With great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Mount Vernon, 14 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

The calamity, which has befallen Philadelphia, and seems in no wise to abate, renders it more essential than ever for the heads of departments to assemble, that proper measures with respect to the public offices and papers may be adopted.

It is time, also, if the President can with propriety interpose, to decide something with respect to the meeting of Congress. But that is difficult, some being of opinion that there is no power vested in the executive under any circumstances to change the place of meeting, although there is power to call Congress together upon *extraordinary* occasions. Others think, admitting this, that the exigency of the case would warrant the measure. It is a delicate situation for the President to be placed in. What would you advise in this predicament? If to call Congress together, *where*, for the ensuing session? It being difficult and expensive to remove the public offices and papers to

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any distance, and the situation delicate into which the executive would be thrown by naming a place far from the present establishment, my wishes would be for Germantown, if the place is free from the fever, for the reasons I have mentioned; but as none can take a more comprehensive view, and I flatter myself a less partial one, of the subject than yourself, and as a letter from you may reach me before we shall meet, I pray you to dilate fully upon the several points here brought to your consideration.

I shall be at or somewhere about Germantown, at the time mentioned in the enclosed, and therefore shall only add, what I persuade myself you are already satisfied of, that I am, with much truth and sincerity, yours.*

TO JAMES MADISON.

Mount Vernon, 14 October, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

The calamitous situation of Philadelphia, and the little prospect, from the present appearance, of its eligibility to receive Congress by the first Monday in December, involve a serious difficulty. It has been intimated by some, that the President ought, by proclamation, to convene Congress a few days before the abovementioned period, at some other place; and by others, that, although in extraordinary cases he has the power to convene, he has none to change the place. Mr. Jefferson, when here on his way home, was of the latter opinion; but the laws were not fully examined, nor was the case at that time so serious

* See APPENDIX, No. XX

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as it now is. From the attorney-general, to whom I have since written on this subject, requesting an official opinion, I have received no answer, nor is it likely I shall soon, as I believe he has no communication with Philadelphia.

Time presses, and the malady, at the usual place of meeting, is becoming more and more alarming. What, then, do you think is the most advisable course for me to pursue in the present exigency? Summon Congress to meet at a certain time and place, in their legislative capacity? Simply state facts and say that I will meet the members at the time and place just mentioned for ulterior arrangements? Or leave matters as they are, if there is no power in the executive to alter the place legally? In the first and second cases, especially the first, the delicacy of my naming a place will readily occur to you. My wish would be, that Congress could be assembled at Germantown, to show that I meant no partiality, leaving it to themselves, if there should appear to be no prospect of getting into Philadelphia soon, to decide what should be done thereafter. But accounts say, that some people have died in Germantown also of the malignant fever. Every death, now, however, is ascribed to that cause, be the disorder what it may. Wilmington and Trenton are nearly equidistant from Philadelphia, in opposite directions; but both are on the great thoroughfare, and equally exposed to danger from the multitude of travellers; and neither may have a chamber sufficient for the House of Representatives. Annapolis and Lancaster are more secure, and both have good accommodations. But to name either of them, especially the first, would be thought to favor the southern convenience; and, perhaps, might be attributed to local views, especially as New York is

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talked of for this purpose. Reading, if there are proper conveniences there, would favor neither the southern nor northern interest most, but would be alike to both.

I have written to Mr. Jefferson on this subject. Notwithstanding which, I would thank you for your opinion, and that fully, as you see my embarrassment. I even ask more. I would thank you, not being acquainted with forms, to sketch some instrument for publication, adapted to the course you may think it would be most expedient for me to pursue in the present state of things, if the members are called together as before mentioned.

The difficulty of keeping clerks in the public offices had in a manner put a stop to business before I left Philadelphia; and the heads of departments having matters of their own, which called them away, has prevented my return thither longer than I had intended. I have now desired the different Secretaries to meet me there, or in the vicinity, the 1st of next month, for which I shall set out the 27th or the 28th of the present.

The accounts from the city are really affecting. Two gentlemen now here from New York, Colonels Platt and Sergeant, say, that they were told at the Swedes' Ford of Schuylkill, by a person who had it from Governor Mifflin, that, by an official report from the mayor of the city, upwards of three thousand and five hundred had died, and that the disorder was raging more violently than ever. If cool weather, accompanied by rain, does not put a stop to the malady, distressing indeed must be the case of that city, now almost depopulated by removals and deaths.

I am, dear Sir, &c.*

* See APPENDIX, No. XX.

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TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 16 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Since my arrival at this place I have been favored with your letters of the 17th ultimo and 7th instant. For your kind attentions to me I pray you to receive my sincere acknowledgments.

I have always, from the accounts given of it, entertained a high opinion of Colonel Taliaferro's threshing machine, but knew at the same time I had no stream that could supply water for one on any of my farms. This was confirmed when Mr. Payne came hither and examined them. The model brought over by the English farmers may also be a good one, but the utility of it among careless negroes and ignorant overseers will depend absolutely upon the simplicity of the construction; for, if there is any thing complex in the machinery, it will be no longer in use than a mushroom is in existence. I have seen so much of the beginning and ending of new inventions, that I have almost resolved to go on in the old way of treading, until I get settled again at home, and can attend myself to the management of one. As a proof in point, of the almost impossibility of putting the overseers of this country out of the track they have been accustomed to walk in, I have one of the most convenient barns in this, or perhaps any other country, where thirty hands may with great ease be employed in threshing. Half of the wheat of the farm was actually stowed in this barn in the straw, by my order, for threshing; notwithstanding, when I came home about the middle of September, I found a treading-yard not thirty feet from the barn-door, the wheat

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again brought out of the barn, and horses treading it out in an open exposure, liable to the vicissitudes of weather. I am now erecting a building for the express purpose of treading. I have sanguine expectations of its utility; and, if I am not deceived in them, it may afford you some satisfaction, when you come into this part of the country, to call and look at it.

I have a grateful sense of your kind offer of Mr. Workman. Previous, however, to the communication, I had engaged a manager from the eastern shore of Maryland; but the impression on my mind for the favor intended me is not lessened on that account.

I have not, as you will perceive, touched the subject of politics in this letter. The reasons are, that your letter of the 17th has expressed precisely my ideas of the conduct and views of those, who are aiming at nothing short of the subversion of the government of these States, even at the expense of plunging this country in the horrors of a disastrous war; and because I wish to wait a little longer to see what may be the sense of legally constituted bodies, at the meetings which are about to take place.

The public service requiring it, I shall set off in about ten days for Philadelphia or the vicinity. Though unknown to your lady, I beg my respectful compliments may be presented to her. I wish an agreeable and harmonious session, and am, with much truth, your affectionate humble servant.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Mount Vernon, 23 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 14th instant only came by the post of last night to Alexandria; and this is sent

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thither to-day, that it may go by to-morrow's mail, and thereby reach you as soon as the nature of the case will admit.

As you have given no positive opinion respecting the power of the executive to change the place for Congress to meet at,* and as it is uncertain what will be the result of this business, I am really at a loss to decide which of the three houses, mentioned in the postscript to your letter of the above date, would best suit me, or whether either of them would.

If, from the present state of the malady, with which Philadelphia is visited, and there is an unfavorable prospect of its ceasing, Germantown should be thought unsafe, and of course an ineligible spot for Congress to sit in or meet at, even in the first instance, any kind of lodging and board would suffice for the short period I should have to remain there; especially as all the time, not employed in business with the heads of departments and yourself, might be spent in little excursions to places at a small distance therefrom. Of course, all idea of furnishing and keeping a house myself, being entirely unprovided with servants and means of any sort, ought to be banished entirely, if it be practicable, and some rooms, even in a tavern, if I could be retired in them, taken in preference. On the other hand, if my stay there is likely to be of any continuance, then unquestionably Colonel Franks's, if to be had, would suit me best, because more commodious for myself and the entertainment of company; and, next to this, Bensel's.

This is the light in which the matter strikes me at this distance. But, as you are on the spot, and know more precisely than I possibly can the real state of

* The official paper by the attorney-general on the subject came afterwards.

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things, and besides, have been in the way of hearing the various opinions of people on the subject of what Congress ought to do, I would leave much to your judgment. I shall set out, so as to be in Germantown or thereabouts on the 1st of November, if no difficulties should be encountered on the road. As there can be but a short interval between your receipt of this letter and my arrival, any place might do for my first reception.

It is not in my power to despatch a servant before me. I shall have but two, neither of whom can be spared for such a purpose. These, with five horses, Mr. Dandridge, and myself, form the total of my family and equipage. It would be very convenient for me, therefore, to meet a letter from you at Wilmington, that I may know better how to proceed from thence, and where to cross the Schuylkill.

My best wishes, in which Mrs. Washington unites, attend you, Mrs. Randolph, and family. We are glad to hear, that your apprehensions on account of Peyton have subsided. With sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

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* By a letter from Mr. Randolph, written a few days after the above, it appears that he had in contemplation an important undertaking.

"I have examined," said he, "the addresses, resolutions, and answers, which are now returned. In many of them the Proclamation is called a declaration of neutrality; and therefore confirms the opinion, that the speech ought (as it clearly may) put this paper upon its true and a satisfactory footing.

"What has been published concerning it, united with numberless misrepresentations in other instances, determined me some months ago to begin a history and review of your administration. I had made some progress in it, and should have advanced further, had I not found some difficulty in asking from the Secretary of State access to the public archives, without communicating at the same time my object. However, had it not been for the interruption, which has been given for some time past to every business connected with Philadelphia, I should have persevered, and endeavoured to procure the means of full and accurate

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TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Mount Vernon, 24 October, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of yesterday was handed to me upon my return from my usual ride, and almost at the moment I was sitting down with company to dinner, which prevented my acknowledging the receipt of it by your servant. I am sorry, that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you and your lady before I return to the northward, and regret the cause. On Sunday, if I can previously arrange some business that presses, I shall commence my journey; and, if I can render you any service where I am going, I should be happy in doing it.

On fair ground, it would be difficult to assign reasons for the conduct of those, who are arraigning and, so far as they are able, constantly embarrassing the measures of government, with respect to its pacific disposition towards the belligerent powers in the convulsive dispute, which agitates them. But their motives are too obvious to those, who have the means of information, and have viewed the different grounds which they have taken, to mistake their object. It is

information. The essay of AGRICOLA convinces me of the importance of such a work, upon public as well as other interesting considerations; and, let my future arrangements be as they may, I shall not relinquish it. But I am extremely apprehensive, that the pestilence of Philadelphia will reduce the practice of the law within the city to such a modicum, as to force me to think of reëstablishing myself in Virginia. For although I do not doubt, that, were I to go into as large a field as some others of the bar here, my share of profit would content me; yet, as that cannot be done consistently with my office, the share which I had must be considerably diminished. Whatever delay may proceed from this circumstance, the work itself shall proceed; and I have now taken the liberty of saying thus much to you in confidence, only to prepare the way, if on some occasion I shall find it necessary to beg the communication of any particular information." — *November 10th.*

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not the cause of France, nor I believe of liberty, which they regard; for, could they involve this country in war (no matter with whom) and disgrace, they would be among the first and loudest of the clamorers against the expense and impolicy of the measure.

The specimens you have seen of M. Genet's sentiments and conduct in the gazettes form a small part only of the aggregate. But you can judge from these to what test the temper of the executive has been put, in its various transactions with this gentleman. It is probable that the whole will be exhibited to public view in the course of the next session of Congress. Delicacy towards his nation has restrained the doing of it hitherto. The best that can be said of this agent is, that he is entirely unfit for the mission on which he is employed; unless, (which I hope is not the case,) contrary to the express and unequivocal declaration of his country, made through himself, it is meant to involve ours in all the horrors of a European war. This, or interested motives of his own, or having become the dupe and the tool of a party formed on various principles, but to effect local purposes, is the only solution that can be given of his conduct. I sincerely wish that Mrs. Lee, and yourself may soon and effectually recover your health; and with very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.*

* The malignant fever in Philadelphia subsided, and the President and heads of departments returned to that city before the end of November. Congress assembled there on the 2d of December, being the day appointed by the constitution for the annual meeting.

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 1 December, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Is there no clue to Mr. Morris's meaning respecting Monsieur Merlino? The next paragraph of his letter is enigmatical to me for the want of my recollecting perfectly the subjects alluded to. What are the orders given him, which he will implicitly obey, and which were, according to his account, received so very opportunely? Has not a letter of his, of subsequent date to that laid before me yesterday, acknowledged the receipt of the plans of the Federal City?

There can be no doubt, since the information which has come to hand from our ministers at Paris and London, of the propriety of changing the expression of the message as it respects the acts of France. And if any bad consequences, which I still declare I see no cause to apprehend, are likely to flow from a *public* communication of matters relative to Great Britain, it might be well to revise the thing again in your own mind before it is sent in, especially as the Secretary of the Treasury has more than once declared, and has offered to discuss and prove, that we receive more substantial benefits (favors are beside the question with any of them, because they are not intended as such,) from British regulations, with respect to the commerce of this country, than we do from those of France; antecedently, I mean, to those of very recent date. We should be very cautious, *if this be the case*, not to advance any thing that may recoil, or take ground we cannot support. Yours always.*

* *From Mr. Jefferson's Answer.* — "On a severe review of the question, whether the British communications should carry any such mark of being confidential, as to prevent the legislature from *publishing* them,

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TO WILLIAM WHITE, BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Private.

Philadelphia, 31 December, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

It has been my intention ever since my return to the city, to contribute my mite towards the relief of the *most* needy inhabitants of it. The pressure of public business hitherto has suspended, but not altered

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I am clearly of opinion they ought not. Will they be kept secret, if secrecy be enjoined? Certainly not; and all the offence will be given (if it be possible any should be given), which would follow their complete publication. If they could be kept secret, from whom would it be? From our own constituents only, for Great Britain is possessed of every tittle. Why then keep it secret from them? No ground of support for the executive will ever be so sure, as a complete knowledge of their proceedings by the people; and it is only in cases where the public good could be injured, and *because* it would be injured, that proceedings should be secret. In such cases, it is the duty of the executive to sacrifice their personal interest (which would be promoted by publicity) to the public interest.

"The negotiations with England are at an end. If not given to the public now, when are they to be given? And what moment can be so interesting? If any thing amiss should happen from the concealment, where will the blame *originate* at least? It may be said indeed, that the President *puts it in the power* of the legislature to communicate these proceedings to *their constituents*; but is it more their duty to communicate them to *their constituents*, than it is the President's to communicate them to *his constituents*? And if they were desirous of communicating them, ought the President to restrain them by making the communication confidential? I think no harm can be done by the publication, because it is impossible England, after doing us any injury, should *declare* war against us merely because we tell our constituents of it; and I think good may be done, because, while it puts it in the power of the legislature to adopt peaceable measures of doing ourselves justice, it prepares the minds of our constituents to go cheerfully into an acquiescence under these measures, by impressing them with a thorough and enlightened conviction, that they are founded in right. The motives, too, of proving to the people the impartiality of the executive, between the two nations of France and England, urge strongly, that while they are to see the disagreeable things, which have been going on as to France, we should not conceal from them what has been passing with England, and induce a belief that nothing has been doing." — *December 2d.*

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my resolution. I am at a loss, however, for whose benefit to apply the little I can give, and in whose hands to place it; whether for the use of the fatherless children and widows, made so by the late calamity, who may find it difficult, whilst provisions, wood, and other necessaries are so dear, to support themselves; or to other and better purposes, if any, I know not, and therefore have taken the liberty of asking your advice.

I persuade myself justice will be done to my motives for giving you this trouble. To obtain information, and to render the little I can afford, without ostentation or mention of my name, are the sole objects of these inquiries. With great and sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Philadelphia, 1 January, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I yesterday received, with sincere regret, your resignation of the office of Secretary of State.* Since it has been impossible to prevail upon you to forego any longer the indulgence of your desire for private

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* *Mr. Jefferson's Letter.*—"Dear Sir; Having had the honor of communicating to you in my letter of the last of July my purpose of retiring from the office of Secretary of State, at the end of the month of September, you were pleased for particular reasons to wish its postponement to the close of the year. That time being now arrived, and my propensities to retirement daily more and more irresistible, I now take the liberty of resigning the office into your hands. Be pleased to accept with it my sincere thanks for all the indulgences, which you have been so good as to exercise towards me in the discharge of its duties. Conscious that my need of them has been great, I have still ever found them greater, without any other claim on my part than a firm pursuit of what has appeared to me to be right, and a thorough

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life, the event, however anxious I am to avert it, must be submitted to.

But I cannot suffer you to leave your station without assuring you, that the opinion, which I had formed of your integrity and talents, and which dictated your original nomination, has been confirmed by the fullest experience; and that both have been eminently displayed in the discharge of your duty.

Let a conviction of my most earnest prayers for your happiness accompany you in your retirement; and while I accept, with the warmest thanks, your solicitude for my welfare, I beg you to believe that I always am, dear Sir, &c.

TO CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Confidential.

Philadelphia, 22 January, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although I am not encouraged by the joint letter, which I had the honor to receive from you and our friend Mr. E. Rutledge, under date of the 12th of June, 1791,* yet, in a measure to which I am strongly prompted both by judgment and inclination, I am unable to restrain myself from making a second application to you, similar to the former one.

I have cause to believe, that the private concerns

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disdain of all means, which were not as open and honorable as their object was pure. I carry into my retirement a lively sense of your goodness, and shall continue gratefully to remember it.

"With very sincere prayers for your life, health, and tranquillity, I pray you to accept the homage of the great and constant respect and attachment, with which I have the honor to be," &c. — *Philadelphia, December 31st.*

* See p. 165 of this volume.

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of the gentleman, who is now at the head of the department of war, will occasion his resignation of that office, unless imperious circumstances (which Heaven avert) should force us into a war with any of the belligerent powers, and, under such circumstances, he should hold it dishonorable to retreat from his post.

Towards or at the close of the present session of Congress, (which is hardly to be expected before April, if then,) this event, if it takes place, is likely to happen. Will you, upon this hypothesis, allow me to indulge a hope, that you would fill his place? It is not for the mere detail duties of the office I am in pursuit of a character. These might be well executed by a less important one than yours; but, as the officer, who is at the head of that department, is a branch of the executive, and called to its councils upon interesting questions of national importance, he ought to be a man, not only of competent skill in the science of war, but possessing a general knowledge of political subjects, of known attachment to the government we have chosen, and of proved integrity. To whom, then, can I turn my eyes with more propriety than to you? I mean not to compliment, but to express the real sentiments of my heart.*

The intention of writing this letter, and the purport

* *From Mr. Pinckney's Reply.* — "Of all the public offices in our country, the one you mention to me is that, which I should like best to fill; except in case of a general war, when, if other matters should admit, I should prefer being in the field; and, though I am sensible I should appear to great disadvantage in an office, which had been so ably filled by General Knox, I should by close application and undeviating integrity endeavour to apologize to my country for your choice. Entertaining these sentiments, judge of my mortification when I am constrained to declare, that circumstances, not in my power to control, will prevent my accepting the offer, which your partiality for me has induced you to make." — *Charleston, February 24th.* Mr. Pinckney's objections were placed chiefly on private grounds.

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of it, are unknown to any one but myself. The result may be equally so, since it is placed upon an hypothetical basis, and declared to be confidential. No more, therefore, than you choose, need be disclosed, until the event which has given rise to the application shall have taken place, although it is essential I should know, in the mean time, on what ground I rest; without which, inconveniences might result from the vacancy of the office. With much truth and sincerity, I am, &c.

TO JAMES MUIR.*

Philadelphia, 24 February, 1794.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 12th instant, and will direct my manager, Mr. Pearce, to pay my annual donation for the education of orphan children, or the children of indigent parents, who are unable to be at the expense themselves.

I had pleasure in appropriating this money to such uses, as I always shall in that of paying it. I confess, however, I should derive satisfaction from knowing what children have heretofore received the benefit of it, and who are now in the enjoyment thereof.

Never, since the commencement of this institution, have I received the least information, except in a single instance, on this head, although application for it to individuals has been frequently made. As you, Sir, appear to be in the exercise of this trust, let me pray you to have the goodness to gratify this wish of mine. With respect, I am, &c.†

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* A clergyman of high respectability at Alexandria.

† In reply to this letter, Mr. Muir gave a particular account of each

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TO GEORGE CLINTON, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

Private.

Philadelphia, 31 March, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 20th instant, with its enclosures, came duly to hand, for which you have my particular thanks. As there are those, who affect to believe, that Great Britain has no hostile intention towards this country, it is not surprising that there should be found among them characters, who pronounce the speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians to be spurious. No doubt, however, remains in my mind of its authenticity. But, as it is important to be satisfied of the fact, so far as the nature of the thing will admit, I would thank you for such information as you are enabled to give of this matter.*

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of the children, who were assisted in their education by President Washington's donation to the school. They were mostly from the poorest class, and some of them entirely destitute of any other aid. For many years he had given fifty pounds a year for this purpose, which he continued till his death; and by will he left to the trustees of the Academy in the town of Alexandria four thousand dollars, "towards the support of a free school, established at, and annexed to, the said Academy, for the purpose of educating orphan children, or the children of such poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it by their own means." This sum was bequeathed in perpetuity, and the income only for the time being was to be appropriated by the trustees.

* Concerning the paper in question, Chief Justice Marshall says, that it purported to be "the answer of Lord Dorchester, on the 10th of February, to a speech delivered by the Indians of the Seven Villages of Lower Canada assembled at Quebec, as deputies from all the nations, who had attended a Great Council held at the Miamis in the year 1793, except the Shawanees, Miamis, and Loups. In this answer his Lordship had openly avowed the opinion, founded, as he said, on the conduct of the American people, that a war between Great Britain and the United States during the present year was probable, and that a new line between the two nations must be drawn by the sword. This document was not authentic; but it obtained general belief, and contributed

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How far the disappointments, experienced by the combined powers in Europe, may have wrought a change in the political conduct of Great Britain towards this country, I shall not take upon me to decide. That it has worn a very hostile appearance lately, if it has not been so uniformly, no one, I conceive, will be hardy enough to deny; and that Lord Dorchester has spoken the sentiments of the British cabinet, at the period he was instructed, I am as ready to believe. But, foiled as that ministry has been, whether it may not have changed its tone, as it respects us, is problematical. This, however, ought not to relax such inquiries, on our part, into the existing state of things, as might enable us, if matters should come to extremities, to act promptly and with vigor.

Among these inquiries, it appears important to me to know the present state of things in Upper and Lower Canada, that is, the composition of the inhabitants, especially in Upper Canada, how they stand affected to their government, and what part they would be disposed to act, if a rupture between this country and Great Britain should take place; and the proximity of our settlements, from the northwestern to the northeastern part of the State of New York, to Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence, the strength thereof, and of their neighbours on the other side of the line, regulars and militia, especially about Niagara and Oswego.

As you have, I am certain, a pretty accurate knowledge of many of these matters yourself, and have the

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to confirm the opinion, that war was scarcely to be avoided."— *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. p. 534.

Governor Clinton believed in the authenticity of the speech, when he wrote, and forwarded testimony of a circumstantial kind, which left very little room for doubt. The paper was artfully drawn, and had the more weight, as being supposed to come from a person so much noted for his habitual caution as Lord Dorchester.

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means, from your acquaintance with characters, on whose adroitness and integrity you can rely, bordering on the British settlements, to obtain information from others, you would oblige me very much by such communications as relate to the above, or any other points, that you may conceive worthy of attention. With great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 8 April, 1794.

SIR,

I cannot charge my memory with all the particulars, which have passed between us, relative to the disposi-

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* About the time that this letter was written, President Washington received the following communication from an American gentleman in London, whose judgment and opinions he deemed worthy of regard.

"God forbid that I should say any thing, that could have the smallest tendency to involve my country in a war; and therefore I have avoided in my letters hitherto a communication of the truth of which I have been fully convinced, not only from my own observation, but from the best-grounded opinion of those, who have long observed the principle which operates here. But I can no longer withhold it.

"This is the moment for the United States to hold that decided language towards this government, which the wrongs and injuries they have suffered would have dictated some time since, if circumstances had made it prudent for them to do so. Nothing will be refused that they have in justice a right to demand, if the demand be made with firmness, and measures are seen to be taken to support that demand. A war with the United States will not be hazarded. For, although measures have been taken to provoke them to strike the first blow, yet it is now found, that the nation will not acquiesce in such a war at any rate.

"The ministry have been told from the United States, that they might venture to do almost any thing they pleased with respect to them, as there was a party there so decidedly in the British sentiment, that bearing and forbearing would be carried to any length; and this has been implicitly believed. *I speak not on slight grounds.*"

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tion of the money borrowed. Your letters, however, and my answer, which you refer to in the foregoing statement, and have lately reminded me of, speak for themselves, and stand in need of no explanation.

As to verbal communications, I am satisfied that many were made by you to me on this subject; and, from my general recollection of the course of proceedings, I do not doubt, that it was substantially as you have stated it in the annexed paper, and that I have approved of the measures, which you from time to time proposed to me for disposing of the loans, upon the condition that what was to be done by you should be agreeable to the laws. I am, &c.*

TO JAMES McHENRY.

Private.

Philadelphia, 8 April, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your private letters of the 31st of March and 3d instant have been duly received. Although it is a rare, if not an entire new thing with me, to answer letters applying for appointments, yet, from motives of esteem and regard, and our former connexion in public life, I shall acknowledge the receipt of yours on this

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* On account of rumors circulated to the disadvantage of the Secretary of the Treasury, he requested of Congress the appointment of a committee to examine fully into the state of his department. — *Journals of Congress, December 16th*, 1793. A committee of inquiry was accordingly appointed, who, after a thorough investigation, made an elaborate report. This is printed in LOWRIE AND CLARKE'S *State Papers*, Vol. V. p. 281. The "paper," to which the above letter relates, is contained in that report. The Secretary of the Treasury seems not to have been satisfied with the President's declaration here given on the subject. His answer is contained in the APPENDIX, No. XXI.

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head; although I can say nothing more on the subject, than to explain the motives, which have imposed silence upon me on these occasions. They are,

First, because letters of this sort are so numerous, that to give them a civil answer would employ too much of my time.

Secondly, because civil answers might be construed to mean more than was intended; and,

Thirdly, coeval with my inauguration I resolved firmly, that no man should ever charge me *justly* with deception. Abundant reason I have had to rejoice at this determination; for I have experienced the necessity, in a variety of instances, of hardening my heart against indulgences of my warmest inclination and friendship, and, from a combination of causes, as well as mere fitness of character, to depart from first impressions and first intentions with regard to nominations; which has proved most unequivocally the propriety of the maxim I had adopted, of never committing myself, until the moment the appointment is to be made, when, from the best information I can obtain, and a full view of circumstances, my judgment is formed.

With respect to your second letter of the 3d of April, I have only to add, and that in confidence, that every thing which friendship requires, and which I could do without committing my public character, or involving this country in embarrassments, is and has been for some time in train, though the result is as yet unknown.* With very great esteem, I am, &c.

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* In explanation of this letter it is proper to state, that the object for which Mr. McHenry had applied for an appointment was the release of Lafayette, whose aid-de-camp he had formerly been.

"I thought," said he, in his letter to the President, "that perhaps it might come within your view at this juncture to send a commissioned person to Vienna to solicit the release of M. de Lafayette, with powers

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TO JAMES MONROE.

Philadelphia, 9 April, 1794.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of yesterday, I can assure you, with the utmost truth, that I have no other object in nominating men to offices, than to fill them with such characters as, in my judgment, or, when they are unknown to me, from such information as I can obtain from others, are best qualified to answer the purposes of their appointment.

Having given you this assurance, I request, if you are possessed of any facts or information, which would disqualify Colonel Hamilton for the mission to which you refer, that you would be so obliging as to communicate them to me in writing. I pledge myself, that they shall meet the most deliberate, impartial, and candid consideration I am able to give them.

Colonel Hamilton and others have been mentioned,

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to proceed to France on a like errand in favor of his wife and children, in order that the whole might be removed to this country.

"I perceive by the act of Congress for discharging his pay during the war, the new obligation you have laid upon your unfortunate friend. If it is possible to go beyond pecuniary aid, or so far as to restore him to liberty and his family, how would he rejoice to owe that blessing to the man he loves most upon earth; and what sublime pleasure to me to be an humble instrument in its accomplishment. The friendship he has always expressed for me, the friendship I feel for him, a conviction of the patriotism of his principles and purity of his motives, the esteem in which he is still held by America, a remembrance of the moment and his youth when he embarked in our cause, and the services he rendered it in the course of our revolution, all conspire to make such a project peculiarly interesting to the feeling heart. At the same time, Sir, you must be sensible, you who on former occasions have not deemed me unworthy of some portion of your confidence, that such a mission would reflect upon you its author, and from whom alone it ought to proceed, as long as exalted friendship shall be ranked among the virtues, a lustre which philosophy must delight to contemplate, and history to diffuse among mankind for their benefit or instruction." — *April 3d.*

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and have occurred to me, as an envoy, for endeavouring by negotiation to avert the horrors of war. No one, if the measure should be adopted, is yet absolutely decided upon in my mind. But, as much will depend, among other things, upon the abilities of the person sent, and his knowledge of the affairs of this country, and as I alone am responsible for a proper nomination, it certainly behoves me to name such a one, as, in my judgment, combines the requisites for a mission so peculiarly interesting to the peace and happiness of this country. With great esteem and regard,

I am, &c.*

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Philadelphia, 15 April, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favored with your letter of the 8th of March from Chantilly. It did not, however, (by the office mark thereon) leave Westmoreland Court-House till the 16th of that month. Previously to the receipt of it, the nomination of Mr. Lawrence Muse, to the collectorship of Rappahannoc, had been made, in consequence of strong testimonials in his favor.

The manners of M. Fauchet and of M. Genet, the present and former ministers from France, appear to have been cast in very different moulds.† The former

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* See Mr. Monroe's letter, to which the above is a reply, and another on the same subject, in the APPENDIX, No. XXII.

† *From Mr. Lee's Letter.* — "I am very happy to hear of Genet's recall, and hope it may prove a lesson to others, however justified by instructions or seeming to be so, that they may not with impunity trample upon all the forms of decency and respect, that have hitherto been practised in the world.

"Is it possible that there can be any rational proof of the court of

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has been temperate and placid in all his movements hitherto. The latter was the reverse of it in all respects. The declarations made by the former, of the friendly dispositions of his nation towards this country, and of his own inclinations to carry them into effect, are strong and apparently sincere. The conduct of the latter is disapproved *in toto* by the governments of both. Yet it is time only, which will enable us to form a decisive judgment of each, and of the objects of their pursuit.

The British ministry, as you will have perceived by Mr. Pinckney's letter to the Secretary of State, which is just published, disclaim any hostile intentions towards this country, in the agency they had in bringing about the truce between Portugal and Algiers; yet the

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London intriguing with Algiers and Portugal to hound out the former against our trade? In any way that I can view the subject, I cannot see the great interest that stimulates a conduct so unjustifiable, so contrary to neutrality, and at a peculiar crisis too, when our friendship, not our enmity, is to be desired. It is chiefly flour and grain, that are sent to the south of Europe, in which articles, I believe, we have not the smallest competition with Great Britain. At the same time that the profits of this trade enable our merchants to pay for the immensity of British manufactures, that Messrs. Jefferson and Madison say we import from thence, I confess that I do not by any means approve the *trade resolves* introduced to Congress by the latter. They appear to me to be partial, very ill-timed, and totally unnecessary. Because the fact (admitting it to be one, on which this whole theory is built, and when, by the by, theories and the practice of commerce have seldom agreed well) of our commerce being so very highly beneficial to Great Britain as is stated, this fact, from the nature of things, must be continually increasing; so as to put the gainers greatly too much in our power to permit them the idea of refusing our reasonable desires. And this without proceeding at a time, and in a manner, evidently to show a prejudiced, hostile temper of mind. But what astonishes me is, to see so many of our Virginia representatives voting for this most pernicious policy! For certainly Virginia will feel the ruinous consequences of this *crambo* trade fatally and quickly. I hope your goodness will excuse my writing so much on this subject. The plan has often engaged the public attention, and been generally reprobated.

"The newspapers tell us, that the present minister from France

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tenor of their conduct, in this business, has been such, added to their manœuvres with our Indian neighbours, but more especially with respect to the late orders of the King in council, as to leave very unfavorable impressions of their friendship, and little to expect from their justice, whatever may result from that of the interest of their nation.

The debates on what are commonly called *Mr. Madison's Resolutions*, which no doubt you have seen, they having been published in all the gazettes, will give you the *pro* and *con* of that business more in detail, than I could do it, if my leisure were greater than it is. But these resolutions, like many other matters, are slumbering in Congress; and what may be the final result of them, no mortal I believe can tell.

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condemns *in toto* the conduct of his predecessor, and in the same unlimited manner approves the proceedings of our government, especially in what relates to our avoiding war. That he is right in both these points is incontestable. But, attending to all we have seen, what consistent judgment can be formed to reconcile such contrarieties? I here lay aside the crafty, deep, and intricate politics, that have distinguished the genius of France through all the annals of history; by which she has duped so many nations for her own advantage, and to their great injury. I have never heard it denied or doubted, that the instructions published by Genet were the genuine orders of his masters; and although in his conduct you discover the furious zeal of a mad precursor, yet it is impossible not to see, through the whole of the instructions, the most decided determination to push us into the war by every possible means. The words of the instructions are, "We ought to excite by all possible means the zeal of the Americans," &c. Fortunately, very fortunately, for these States, the wisdom and patriotism, firmness and vigilance, of our government have frustrated the destructive design. But is it possible that this minister can speak the sentiments of his masters, when he approves the condemnation of what they so warmly and evidently desired? It is here again lucky for us, that we are fairly put upon our guard against all the arts and *détours* of the subtlest policy.

"The success and happiness of the United States are our care; and if the nations of Europe approve war, we surely may be permitted to cultivate the arts of peace. And it is really a happiness to reflect, that, if war should befall us, our government will not promote it; but give cause to all, who venerate humanity, to revere the rulers here."

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I learn with regret, that your health has continued bad ever since I had the pleasure of seeing you at Shuter's Hill. Warm weather, I hope, will restore it. If my wishes could be of any avail, you assuredly would have them. With my best respects to Mrs. Lee, and the rest of your family, in which Mrs. Washington unites, I am, with very great esteem and regard, dear Sir, &c.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.*

Tuesday Morning, 15 April, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Let me know whether the message, which in the evening of yesterday I requested you to draw, will be ready by eleven o'clock this forenoon? If you answer in the affirmative, I shall require the gentlemen, with whom I usually advise on these occasions, to attend me at that hour; for I consider that message, both as to matter and form, of such importance as to make it necessary, that every word of it should undergo due consideration.

My objects are, to prevent a war, if justice can be obtained by fair and strong representations (to be made by a special envoy) of the injuries which this country has sustained from Great Britain in various ways, to put it into a complete state of military defence, and to provide eventually for the execution of such measures, as seem to be now pending in Congress, if negotiation in a reasonable time proves unsuccessful.

Such is the train of my thoughts; but how far all, or

* Mr. Randolph had been appointed Secretary of State on the 2d of January, as successor to Mr. Jefferson. The place of Mr. Randolph, as attorney-general, was supplied by William Bradford, of Pennsylvania.

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any of them, except the first, ought to be introduced into the message, in the present stage of the business in Congress, deserves, as I have said before, due consideration. Yours, &c.*

TO JOHN JAY.

Secret and Confidential.

Philadelphia, 29 April, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Receive, I pray you, the suggestion I am going to impart, with the friendship and caution the delicacy of it requires.

You are already informed, that I am under the necessity of recalling Mr. Gouverneur Morris from France, and you can readily conceive the difficulty which occurs in finding a successor, that would be agreeable

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* This message was the one, in which Mr. Jay was nominated to the Senate as envoy extraordinary to England. The first object only, mentioned above, was introduced into the message, which was sent the next day as follows.

"Gentlemen of the Senate; The communications which I have made to you during your present session, from the despatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But, as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated; I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate, John Jay, as envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic Majesty.

"My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country, and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity."

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to that nation, and who, at the same time, would meet the approbation of the friends of that country in this.

These considerations have induced me to ask you, if it could be made to comport with your inclination, after you shall have finished your business as envoy, and not before, to become the resident minister plenipotentiary at London, that Mr. Pinckney, by that means, might be sent to Paris? I mean no more, than simply to ask the question, not intending, although the measure would remove the above difficulty, to press it in the smallest degree.

If you answer in the affirmative, be so good as to return the enclosed letter* to me, and correspondent arrangements shall be made. If in the negative, I pray you to forward it through the penny post, or otherwise, according to circumstances, to the gentleman to whom it is directed without delay; and, in either case, to let the transaction be confined entirely to ourselves. With much truth and regard, I am sincerely and affectionately yours.†

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* The letter here alluded to is the one which follows to Robert R. Livingston.

† *Mr. Jay's Answer.* — "Dear Sir; I was this day honored with yours of yesterday. There is nothing I more ardently wish for than retirement, and leisure to attend to my books and papers; but, parental duties not permitting it, I must acquiesce and thank God for the many blessings I enjoy. If the judiciary was on its proper footing, there is no public station that I should prefer to the one in which you have placed me. It accords with my turn of mind, my education, and my habits.

"I expect to sail in the course of a fortnight, and if my prayers and endeavours avail, my absence will not be of long duration. The gentleman, to whom your letter is addressed, is not in town. To obviate delay and accidents, I sent it to his brother, who will doubtless forward it immediately, either by a direct conveyance or by the post. From the confidence you repose in me, I derive the most pleasing emotions, and I thank you for them. Life is uncertain. Whether I take your letter with me or leave it here, it would in case of my death be inspected by others, who, however virtuous, might be indiscreet. After much reflection, I conclude it will be most prudent to commit it to you, without retaining

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TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Private.

Philadelphia, 29 April, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Circumstances have rendered it expedient to recall Mr. Gouverneur Morris from his mission to the Republic of France. Would it be convenient and agreeable to you to supply his place?

An affirmative answer would induce an immediate nomination of you for this appointment to the Senate; and the signification of your sentiments relative thereto, as soon as your determination is formed, would oblige me particularly, as it is not expected that that body will remain much longer in session. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 29 April, 1794.

SIR,

I have read the draft of your letter, intended as an answer to the British minister's reply to Mr. Pinckney's memorial, on the instructions of the 8th of June, 1793. Those of the 6th of November following stand unconnected with the subject.

It is essential, that all the cited cases should be

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any copy or memorandum except in my memory, where the numerous proofs of your kind attention to me are carefully preserved. With perfect respect, esteem, and attachment, I am," &c. — *New York, April 30th.*

* As neither Mr. Jay nor Mr. Livingston accepted the offer, Mr. Monroe was nominated to the Senate as minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of France, and the nomination was confirmed on the 28th of May.

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correct, and that the general statement should be placed on incontrovertible ground; otherwise the argument will recoil with redoubled force.

Close attention being given to these matters, and the ideas expressed without warmth or asperity, if upon a revision such should be found to have intermingled, I see no objection to the particular answer which is prepared. I am, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 2 May, 1794.

SIR,

I did not think it worth while to give you the trouble of writing a formal answer, and therefore I desired the Secretary of State, who was with me on business, if he had an opportunity, to ask an explanation of the last clause in your letter of the 30th ultimo. He has just informed me, that you state that there is money in your hands applicable to the French debt; and, upon the whole, I do not see any objection to your making the payments to M. Fauchet, which you mention in that letter.

I return the passports signed; and I am so fully impressed with the necessity of discontinuing the issuing of them without some restrictions, that I request you to be careful in charging the collectors not to suffer any of the vessels, for which they are given, to depart without complying with the conditions expressed in your letter of this date. I am, &c.

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TO TOBIAS LEAR.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1794.

My dear Sir,

The reception you met with from the Earl of Buchan and Sir John Sinclair gives me sincere pleasure; and I am glad to find they have introduced you to characters, who may not only contribute to your present gratification, but who in the revolution of events may be of service in a future walk of life, without a possible disservice, that results not from imprudence; against which your own good sense will always secure you.

I am much obliged to you for the several communications in your letters, which have come to hand. I place great reliance on them. The opportunities you derive from mixing with people in different walks, high and low, of different descriptions, and of different political sentiments, must have afforded you an extensive range for observation and comparison; more so by far than would fall to the lot of a stationary character, who is always revolving in a particular circle.

I am equally well pleased to learn, that the concerns in which you are more immediately interested are in as promising a way, as the peculiarly disturbed state of matters in Europe would allow you to expect. I hope they will continue, and that your plans may be accomplished to the fullest extent of your wishes.

Not knowing where you may be when this letter shall have reached London, nor the hazard it might run in following you, if you should have left that metropolis, I shall do little more than touch on political subjects.

To tell you that the order of his Britannic Majesty in council, of the 8th of June last, respecting neutral vessels, had given much discontent in the United

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States, and that that of the 6th of November and its result had thrown them into a flame, will hardly be news to you when you shall receive this letter. The subsequent order of the 8th of January has in a degree allayed the violence of the heat, but will by no means satisfy them without reparation for the spoliations on our trade, and the injuries we sustain from the non-performance of the treaty of peace. To effect these if possible by temperate means, by fair and firm negotiation, an envoy extraordinary is appointed, and will, I expect, sail in a few days. Mr. Jay is chosen for this trust. Mr. John Trumbull goes as his private secretary.

Many measures have been moved in Congress, in consequence of the aforementioned orders of the British cabinet. Some have passed into acts, and others are yet pending. Those, which have become laws, are, one for fortifying our principal seaports, which is now in vigorous execution, and for raising an additional corps of eight hundred artillerymen for the defence of them and for other purposes. The bills, which are pending, are to complete our present military establishment; to raise an army of twenty-five thousand in addition thereto; and to organize, put in training, and to hold in readiness at a minute's warning a select corps of eighty thousand militia. Of the passing of the first and last of these, no doubt seems to be entertained on either side of the House; but those, who are fearful of what they call a standing army, will give all the opposition they can to the other. The result therefore none will predict in the present stage of the business.

Besides these, a bill passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, founded on the following preamble and resolution.

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"Whereas, the injuries which have been suffered, and may be suffered by the United States, from violations committed by Great Britain on their neutral rights and commercial interests, as well as from the failure to execute the seventh article of the treaty of peace, render it expedient for the interests of the United States, that the commercial intercourse between the two countries should not continue to be carried on in the extent at present allowed;

"Resolved, that from and after the 1st day of November next all commercial intercourse between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of the King of Great Britain, or the citizens or subjects of any other nation, as far as the same respects articles of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, shall be prohibited."

This measure was arrested in the Senate at the third reading by the casting vote of the Vice-President; not, as it is said and generally believed, from a disinclination to the ulterior expedience of the measure, but from a desire to try the effect of negotiation previous thereto. Sequestration of British property, exclusive of that in the funds, and other expedients of a similar kind, have been agitated in the House of Representatives, but seem, I think, to be talked off the stage.

I wish most sincerely, that some inducement could be offered to Professor Anderson, which would bring him to this country. His labors are, certainly, ingenious and worthy of encouragement; but I fear it will not be in my power to benefit these States by them. His communications, however, are under consideration.

My public avocations will not at any rate admit of more than a flying trip to Mount Vernon for a few days this summer. This not suiting Mrs. Washington, I have taken a house in Germantown to avoid the

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heat of this city in the months of July and August. She, Nelly, and the rest of the family, unite with me in every good wish for your health, prosperity, and safe return. With affection and regard, I am and always shall be yours.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Private.

6 May, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

In answering your note of yesterday respecting M. Talleyrand-Périgord, I do not hesitate to declare, that I find it difficult to hit upon a line of conduct towards characters, under the description of that gentleman, (emigrants,) that is satisfactory to my own mind, or, more properly, that is free from exception, by avoiding what might seem to be incivility on one hand, and unpleasant political consequences on the other. I can perceive very clearly, that the consequences of receiving these characters into the public rooms will be the driving of the French minister from them. His visits are much less frequent than they were; and an occurrence on Tuesday last, which shall be mentioned when you call here, has left no doubt as to the cause.

A particular introduction of these characters, out of the usual course, would I presume be more noticed, than the reception of them in public. It has become expedient, therefore, in my opinion, that principles should be adopted in these cases, not only for the President, but for the executive officers also, by which evils may be avoided, and uniformity observed. What these had best be, deserves consideration.

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My wish is, and it is not less my duty as an officer of the republic, to avoid offence to powers with which we are in friendship, by a conduct towards their proscribed citizens, which would be disagreeable to them; whilst at the same time these emigrants, if people of a good character, ought to understand, that they will be protected in their persons and property, and that they will be entitled to all the benefits of our laws. For the rest, they must depend upon their own behaviour and the civilities of the citizens at large, who are less restrained by political considerations, than the officers of government must be. Yours always.*

* Talleyrand had lately arrived in the United States, and was the bearer of the following letter to President Washington from the Marquis of Lansdown.

"*London, March 2d*, 1794. — Sir; M. Talleyrand-Périgord, late Bishop of Autun in France, does me a great deal of honor in supposing that a letter from me may be of use to him with you. I am too much flattered by the supposition to decline taking that liberty; but I have a more powerful motive, which is, to do justice to a most respectable individual, suffering under a great deal of combined persecution. M. Talleyrand is the eldest of one of the first families of France. He was bred to the church on account of an accidental lameness at his birth, and must have succeeded to the highest honors and emoluments, if he had not sacrificed his ambition to public principle, in which however he preserves so much moderation as never to pass the line of a constitutionalist, which exposes him to the hatred of the violent party now predominating.

"He has resided in England near three years, during which time he has conducted himself, to my intimate knowledge, with the strictest public and private propriety, so as to give not the least cause of jealousy; but is now exiled from hence in consequence of the earnest and repeated desire of courts, who, being under the influence of the French ecclesiastics, can never pardon in a bishop a desire to promote the general freedom of public worship, which M. Talleyrand has uniformly professed. In the present situation of Europe, he has nowhere to look for an asylum, except to that country, which is happy enough to preserve its peace and its happiness under your auspices, to which we may be all of us in our turn obliged to look up, if some bounds are not speedily put to the opposite storms of anarchy and despotism, which threaten Europe with desolation. M. Talleyrand is accompanied with another constitutionalist, M. Beaumet, a person of distinguished probity, courage

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TO JOHN JAY.

Philadelphia, 7 May, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of Sunday came to my hands yesterday, and for the pamphlet enclosed I thank you. The purport of my last to you, and the enclosures, are incontrovertible evidences, that no offer had been or could be made to the gentleman you mention, until you had decided on the proposition, which was made to yourself. The report, therefore, of its having been so made could be no other than mere conjecture.*

I take the liberty of troubling you with a packet for Mr. Lear. Where he may be, when you shall have got to London, is more than I can say; but to your care I commit the letter. I do most sincerely wish you a safe and pleasant passage, a fortunate result to the business intrusted to you, and a speedy return to your family and friends; being with the most affectionate regard yours.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 29 May, 1794.

SIR,

The communication, which you made to me some time ago, of your intention to resign, and to which you refer in your letter of the 27th instant, received

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and love of instruction. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and veneration, Sir, &c.

"LANSDOWN."

* Mr. Jay had heard it reported, that Mr. Livingston had been consulted, as to the mission to France, before the former received President Washington's letter of the 29th of April.

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yesterday afternoon, I always considered as depending upon events.

Of course nothing has been done by me to render your continuance in office inconvenient or ineligible. On the contrary, I am pleased that you have determined to remain at your post until the clouds over our affairs, which have come on so fast of late, shall be dispersed. I am, &c.*

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 7 June, 1794.

SIR,

I approve of the plan proposed in your letter of the 4th instant, namely, that a power for making a loan of eight hundred thousand dollars be lodged in Holland, to be used at the time specified in that letter. When the business of Algiers is arranged, it will be seen whether it be proper to give the premium of two per cent for an engagement to have the loan ready when

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* *From Mr. Hamilton's Letter.*—"I some time since communicated an intention to withdraw from the office I hold, towards the close of the present session. This I should now put in execution but for the events which have lately accumulated, of a nature to render the prospect of a continuance of our peace in a considerable degree precarious. I do not perceive that I could voluntarily quit my post at such a juncture, consistently with considerations either of duty or character; and therefore I find myself reluctantly obliged to defer the offer of my resignation.

"But if any circumstances should have taken place in consequence of the intimation of an intention to resign, or should otherwise exist, which serve to render my continuance in office in any degree inconvenient or ineligible, I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that I should yield to them with all the readiness naturally inspired by an impatient desire to relinquish a situation, in which even a momentary stay is opposed by the strongest personal and family reasons, and could only be produced by a sense of duty or reputation."—*May 27th.*

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it is wanted. The remaining two hundred thousand dollars may be reserved for the other purposes of foreign intercourse.

I presume that the power, which you design for Mr. Adams, will be of the same kind with that formerly given to his predecessor, Mr. Short. I wish you to have the two powers prepared in conformity with this letter. I am, &c.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Baltimore, 19 June, 1794.

SIR,

At five o'clock this afternoon I reached this place, and shall proceed in the morning. Mr. Adams's commission as minister resident to the United Netherlands was signed, if I recollect rightly, before I left Philadelphia. If his letters of credence are forwarded to me by the post, they also shall be signed and returned to you, to supersede the necessity of his waiting for them, in case every thing else should be in readiness before I return.

As his duties at the Hague will be few and simple, chiefly of a pecuniary sort, there will be no necessity for detaining him to obtain my approbation of his instructions; but I would have the Secretary of the Treasury consulted thereon. I am, &c.

TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Baltimore, 19 June, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

The difficulty, under existing circumstances, of knowing what to write to you, had determined me to

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write nothing, but to let the matter rest altogether upon the public communications from the Secretary of State.

Coming to this place, however, on a flying visit to Mount Vernon, and finding the vessel, which Mr. Monroe is on board of, had not left the river, I have so far departed from my determination, as to be seated in order to assure you, that my confidence in and friendship and regard for you remain undiminished.

To time, and your own observations, if you should return immediately to this country, I commit the rest; and it will be nothing new to assure you, that I am always and very sincerely yours.

TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Mount Vernon, 25 June, 1794.

My dear Sir,

The sole object of the enclosed letter was to evince to you, that, notwithstanding your recall, you held the same place in my estimation that you did before it happened. I expected to get the letter into Colonel Monroe's hands before the vessel, in which he sailed, had left the Petapsco River; but a fresh, fair wind coming up prevented its reaching him.

Since my arrival at this place I have been favored with your private letter of the 12th of March, enclosing the duplicate of the 5th of February. For both I thank you. To common accidents, or to the interception of letters, for purposes that may be guessed, are to be ascribed those disappointments of which you complain; for I am almost certain, that information of what was going forward in this country was regularly transmitted to you; possibly, and probably, not by

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duplicates, which ought to have been the case, for the greater certainty of getting it to you.

The uncertainty, when letters are not intrusted to confidential persons, or sent by special messengers, of their coming to hand, will restrain me from going into detail at this time. I shall only add, therefore, to the acknowledgment of the receipt of the above letters, that I am entirely ignorant of the source from whence, or the foundation on which, Major Jackson has erected the fabrics of your recall and of your successor. Neither directly nor indirectly could he have derived them from me, for the best of all reasons, namely, that not until some considerable time after M. Fauchet had arrived in this country did I entertain an idea of the former, or contemplate the latter; for until then I had supposed you stood well with the persons in power. Sure I am, nothing short of evidence to the contrary, with the request that accompanied it, would have induced the measure. To Major Jackson I have never written a line since he left this country, nor received one from him.

The prospective you have drawn is not very pleasing; but it serves to make one more anxious for a nearer view.

The affairs of this country *cannot go amiss.* There are *so many watchful guardians of them,* and such *infallible guides,* that one is at no loss for a director at every turn. But of these matters I shall say little; if you are disposed to return to it, I will leave you to judge of them from your own observation. My primary objects, to which I have steadily adhered, have been to preserve the country in peace if I can, and to be prepared for war if I cannot; to effect the first, upon terms consistent with the respect which is

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due to ourselves, and with honor, justice, and good faith to all the world.

Mr. Jay, and not Mr. Jefferson, as has been suggested to you, embarked as envoy extraordinary for England about the middle of May. If he succeeds, well; if he does not, why, knowing the worst, we must take measures accordingly. I am yours affectionately.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 25 June, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Monday's post brought me your letter of the 18th instant with its enclosures. The minister of his Britannic Majesty seems more disposed to be captious than conciliatory. Whether it proceeds from his ideas of policy, the advice of his counsellors, or a natural petulance of temper, remains to be developed.

The enclosed letter from Mr. Reuben Harvey is similar to one I received from him some time ago, and which I either gave or intended to give to you. Do as shall appear to you right with them. I shall endeavour to be back by the time I allotted before I left Philadelphia, if I am able; but an exertion to save myself and horse from falling among the rocks at the Lower Falls of the Potomac, whither I went on Sunday morning to see the canal and locks, has wrenched my back in such a manner as to prevent my riding; and hitherto has defeated the purposes for which I came home. My stay here will only be until I can ride with ease and safety, whether I accomplish my own business or not. I am, &c.

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TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 27 June, 1794.

SIR,

I have duly received your several letters of the 20th, 21st, and 22d instant, with their enclosures. The only matter, which seems to require my immediate attention, is contained in the last of them.

I am not disposed, under my present view of the case, to inform Mr. Hammond, that our envoy at the court of London shall be *specially* instructed on the point of compensation for British vessels, captured by French privateers, contrary to the rules which have been established by this government; as the general powers of the said envoy extend to and embrace this object. But would it be amiss to let him know informally and verbally, that Mr. Jay's powers go to this as well as to other cases?*

I well remember the precaution I used to prevent any further commitment of the executive on this head, than a mere expression of his opinion as to the expediency of the measure. This having been complied with in the communication to Congress, of the 5th of December, the matter in my opinion had better remain upon the ground it now stands on, until things are a little more developed. In the mean time some such written official answer as you have suggested, softened as it can well bear, might be given to Mr. Hammond. I am, &c.

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* For the principles and practice adopted by the government, in regard to neutrals and privateers, see KENT's *Commentaries*, 2d edit. Vol. I. pp. 96, 115, *et seq.*

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TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mount Vernon, 30 June, 1794.

SIR,

Your letter of the 25th instant, enclosing one from Mr. Gouverneur Morris of the 7th of March, came duly to hand. The measures you have taken in consequence thereof appear to be expedient and proper.

I am sorry to find by his private letters, two of which I send for your perusal, and to be returned, that he and our other ministers abroad are continually repeating and complaining of their want of information from the department of state. This, I am sensible, does not apply to you, because, among other reasons, there has not been time between your coming into office and the dates of their letters for ground of such complaints. Nor do I think it applicable to your predecessor, further than as it may have proceeded from miscarriages and the want of duplicates. As, however, the evil complained of may be attended with serious consequences if not remedied, I am led to take this notice of it, in order that duplicates always, and in certain cases triplicates, may be forwarded for the information and government of our agents in foreign countries.

I expect to leave this place on Thursday for Philadelphia; and if, upon inquiry at Georgetown, I should find the upper road the smoothest and best, I shall proceed by it. For these reasons it is advisable to withhold your further communications, until I shall have arrived at the seat of the government. I am, &c.

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TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Private.

Mount Vernon, 2 July, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your private letter of the 22d of June came duly to hand, and for the opinion contained in it I thank you. I always feel sincere gratification from the frank and unreserved advice of my friends, whether it coincides with my own sentiments or not.*

As Congress, to whom the matter was referred, did not (from causes unknown to me) think proper to take up the subject of compensation for British vessels captured by the proscribed privateers of France, and as this is one of the subjects committed to Mr. Jay's negotiation, or at least within his powers, I do not feel disposed to make any further or more pointed declaration to Mr. Hammond on this head at this time.

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* *From Mr. Hamilton's Letter.* — "The Secretary of State in referring to you the question of the answer to be given to Mr. Hammond, concerning compensation for certain captured vessels, will, I presume, transmit to you the opinions of the other gentlemen as well as his own. Besides the reasons hastily sketched in the memorandums given to the Secretary of State, there is one of a delicate nature, which I did not think fit to put on a paper which might become a public document, but which I think ought to be submitted to your consideration.

"Though the form of only giving the *opinion* of the President, that it was incumbent upon the United States to make compensation in the case, has been used, yet between nation and nation this is equivalent to a *virtual* engagement that compensation will be made; and we were all sensible, in advising the President to give that opinion (which advice was unanimous), that a non-compliance with it would be a serious commitment of the character of the nation, the government, and the *President*. Indeed, if the legislature should not do its part under such circumstances, it would necessarily give birth to considerations very embarrassing to the delicacy of the President.

"In such a posture of things, is it not advisable to narrow the obstacles to a right issue of the business? If Mr. Jay is instructed to insert a formal *stipulation* in a *general arrangement*, the Senate only will have

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My understanding of the original communication of this business differs very widely from your interpretation of it. It is well known to the late Secretary of State, that more than once I pointedly desired, that the expression should be so guarded, as to convey *nothing more* than an *opinion* of the executive. This, it may be said and I think, ought to have been confirmed by the legislature; but the fact is otherwise. And, although the usage of other nations may be opposed to this practice, this difference may result from the difference between their constitutions and ours, and from the prerogatives of their executives.

The powers of the executive of this country are more definite, and better understood, perhaps, than those of any other country; and my aim has been, and will continue to be, neither to stretch nor relax them in any instance whatever, unless compelled to it by imperious circumstances.

Under this view of the subject, unless the case were more pressing, than I think the matter is as it

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to concur. If provision is to be made by law, *both Houses* must concur. The difference is easily seen. And it is a case where the *point of honor* is too materially concerned not to dictate the expediency of leaving as little hazard as possible upon the issue. It is impossible that any questions can arise about the *propriety* of giving this course to the business. When we are demanding compensation for our captured vessels and goods, it is the simplest thing in the world to stipulate compensation for those of Great Britain, which we acknowledge to have been unlawfully made within our territory, or by the use of our means. It is also with me a material consideration, that the coupling this with the other objects of Mr. Jay's negotiation may tend to disembarrass in future. If the compensation we seek fails, it may be a good answer to the claim on the other side, that they were endeavoured, without success, to be made a subject of reciprocal stipulation. I speak with reference to the individuals concerned.

"I may be perhaps too *nice*. But this is one of those questions, in which ideas of *sincerity, good faith*, and *honor*, in a relation which must always engage my particular solicitude, press my judgment to a course of proceeding which is calculated to dispel all doubts."—*June 22d.*

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respects Mr. Hammond, it had better, I conceive, remain on the footing it now stands on; although I have no objection, as I had written to the Secretary of State before I received your letter, that he might be informed, informally and verbally, that the negotiation of this as well as other matters was transmitted to his own court. I am, with sincere esteem and regard, your affectionate, &c.

TO THOMAS SIM LEE.

Private.

Philadelphia, 25 July, 1794

DEAR SIR,

This letter will accompany an official one from the Secretary of State, written to you by my desire. It is unnecessary, therefore, for me to repeat what is contained in his letter. But I shall express with frankness a wish, that it may comport with your convenience to accept the proffered appointment, provided your health, inclination, and habit would enable you to discharge the duties of the office with activity.

Experience has evinced the propriety, indeed absolute necessity, that the commissioners of the Federal District should reside within the city, or so near to it, as, by a daily attendance, to see that every thing moves with regularity, economy, and despatch. The year 1800 is approaching with hasty strides; equally so ought the public buildings to advance towards completion. The prospect before them, it must be confessed, is flattering. The crisis, nevertheless, is as delicate as it is important. The places of those gentlemen, who are retiring from office, must be filled with others of respectability and decision.

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For these and other reasons, the enumeration of which would be more fit for oral than written details, I have contemplated you and Mr. Potts of Frederic Town, to whom the Secretary of State now writes, as the successors of Mr. Johnson and Dr. Stuart; and to hear that the offer is accepted would give me pleasure. If this be the case, I shall have many opportunities of filling up the outlines of the communication. If it should not, I have said more than is necessary already.

Candor, however, requires I should add, that the inducement to give salaries to the commissioners is, that they should live in the city, or the borders of it; and by doing so, and an arrangement among themselves, the necessity, and of course the expense, of employing a general superintendent of the business may be avoided.

It has been suggested, and I believe with propriety, that one of the commissioners ought to be well read in law. This, among other inducements, has brought Mr. Potts more immediately into my view. The non-residence of the commissioners in the city has, I am persuaded, been attended with many disadvantages, and has been the source of those unpleasant disputes between them and the proprietors, the superintendents, and their workmen. Their periodical meetings, and intermediate calls, although extremely fatiguing, and oftentimes very inconvenient, have not answered all the purposes of their appointment, a primary one being that of seeing their own regulations and orders executed in the time, manner, and spirit intended. Another, hardly second to the first, is, that, by being always on the spot, they are at hand to embrace offers, and to avail themselves of opportunities, which frequently present themselves but will not wait, not

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only to purchase materials and to engage artisans, but to interest foreigners and strangers, who may view the city, in the purchase of lots, but who otherwise know not where to apply, and are unwilling to remain until the stated meetings shall revolve, and equally so to call a special one. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO CHARLES M. THURSTON.

Private.

Philadelphia, 10 August, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 21st of June came duly to hand. For the communications contained in it I thank you, as I shall do for any other that is interesting to the community, and necessary for me to be informed of. That there should exist in this country such a spirit as you say pervades the people of Kentucky, and which I have also learnt through other channels, is to me matter of great wonder; and that it should prevail there, more than in any other part of the Union, is not less surprising to those, who are acquainted with the exertions of the general government in their favor. But it will serve to evince, whensoever and by whomsoever facts are developed (and they are not unknown at this moment to many of the principal characters in that State), that there must exist a predisposition among them to be dissatisfied, under any circumstances and under every exertion of government (short of a war with Spain, which must eventually involve one with Great Britain,) to promote their welfare.

The protection they receive, and the unwearied endeavours of the general government to accomplish, by

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repeated and ardent remonstrances, what they seem to have most at heart, namely, the navigation of the Mississippi, obtain no credit with them, or, what is full as likely, may be concealed from them or misrepresented by those *Societies*, which, under specious colorings, are spreading mischief far and wide, either from real ignorance of the measures pursuing by the government, or from a wish to bring it, as much as they are able, into discredit; for what purposes, every man is left to his own conjectures.

That similar attempts to give discontent to the public mind have been practised with too much success in some of the western counties in this State, you are, I am certain, not to learn. Actual rebellion against the laws of the United States exists at this moment, notwithstanding every lenient measure, which could comport with the duties of the public officers, has been exercised to reconcile them to the collection of the taxes upon spirituous liquors and stills. What may be the consequences of such violent and outrageous proceedings is painful in a high degree even in contemplation. But, if the laws are to be so trampled upon with impunity, and a minority, a small one too, is to dictate to the majority, there is an end put, at one stroke, to republican government; and nothing but anarchy and confusion are to be expected hereafter. Some other man or society may dislike another law, and oppose it with equal propriety, until all laws are prostrate, and every one, the strongest I presume, will carve for himself. Yet there will be found persons, I have no doubt, who, although they may not be hardy enough to justify such open opposition to the laws, will nevertheless be opposed to coercion, even if the proclamation and the other temperate measures, which are in train by the executive to avert the dire

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necessity of a resort to arms, should fail. How far such people may extend their influence, and what may be the consequences thereof, is not easy to decide; but this we know, that it is not difficult by concealment of some facts and the exaggeration of others, where there is an influence, to bias a well-meaning mind, although we allow truth will ultimately prevail where pains are taken to bring it to light.

I have a great regard for General Morgan, and respect his military talents, and am persuaded, if a fit occasion should occur, no one would exert them with more zeal in the service of his country than he would. It is my ardent wish, however, that this country should remain in peace as long as the interest, honor, and dignity of it will permit, and its laws, enacted by the representatives of the people freely chosen, shall ob tain. With much esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Germantown, 21 August, 1794.

SIR,

To your note of this date, in behalf of the department of war, asking my opinion or direction respecting the advisableness of sending, in the existing circum-

* A proclamation was issued, August 7th, in which were briefly stated the doings of the insurgents, the measures thus far pursued by the government, and the principal points of the law which authorized force to be employed against insurrectionary movements. The opinion of the President was also expressed, that the time had come, when it was necessary to call out the militia for this purpose; and the insurgents were warned, that, unless they should disperse before the 1st of September, the law would be put in execution. Another proclamation was issued on the 2d of September, calling out the militia.

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stances of the western counties of Pennsylvania, two months' pay to the army under the immediate orders of General Wayne, I answer, that under my present impressions the measure had better be delayed, at least until the commissioners, who were sent into those counties, make their report. It certainly would, from all the information that has been received from that quarter, be too hazardous to send a sum of money by the way of Pittsburg, through counties that are in open rebellion; and, besides the circuitousness of the route through what is called the Wilderness, and the length of time required to send it by a messenger that way, there would be, in my opinion, no small risk in the attempt. But as I shall be in the city to-morrow, I will converse with you on the subject. I am, &c.

TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Private.

Germantown, 26 August, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 17th came duly to hand, and I thank you for its communications. As the insurgents in the western counties of this State are resolved, as far as we have yet been able to learn from the commissioners, who have been sent among them, to persevere in their rebellious conduct until what they call the excise law is repealed, and acts of oblivion and amnesty are passed, it gives me sincere consolation amidst the regrets, with which I am filled by such lawless and outrageous conduct, to find by your letter above mentioned, that it is held in general detestation by the good people of Virginia, and that you are disposed to lend your personal aid to subdue this

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spirit, and to bring those people to a proper sense of their duty.

On this latter point I shall refer you to letters from the war office, and to a private one from Colonel Hamilton, (who, in the absence of the Secretary of War, superintends the military duties of that department,) for my sentiments on this occasion.

It is with equal pride and satisfaction I add, that, as far as my information extends, this insurrection is viewed with universal indignation and abhorrence, except by those, who have never missed an opportunity by side blows or otherwise to attack the general government; and even among these there is not a spirit hardy enough yet openly to justify the daring infractions of law and order; but by palliatives they are attempting to suspend all proceedings against the insurgents, until Congress shall have decided on the case, thereby intending to gain time, and if possible to make the evil more extensive, more formidable, and of course more difficult to counteract and subdue.

I consider this insurrection as the first formidable fruit of the Democratic Societies, brought forth, I believe, too prematurely for their own views, which may contribute to the annihilation of them.

That these societies were instituted by the artful and designing members (many of their body I have no doubt mean well, but know little of the real plan,) primarily to sow among the people the seeds of jealousy and distrust of the government, by destroying all confidence in the administration of it, and that these doctrines have been budding and blowing ever since, is not new to any one, who is acquainted with the character of their leaders, and has been attentive to their manœuvres. I early gave it as my opinion to the confidential characters around me, that, if these societies

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were not counteracted, (not by prosecutions, the ready way to make them grow stronger,) or did not fall into disesteem from the knowledge of their origin, and the views with which they had been instituted by their father, Genet, for purposes well known to the government, they would shake the government to its foundation. Time and circumstances have confirmed me in this opinion; and I deeply regret the probable consequences; not as they will affect me personally, for I have not long to act on this theatre, and sure I am that not a man amongst them can be more anxious to put me aside, than I am to sink into the profoundest retirement, but because I see, under a display of popular and fascinating guises, the most diabolical attempts to destroy the best fabric of human government and happiness, that has ever been presented for the acceptance of mankind.

A part of the plan for creating discord is, I perceive, to make me say things of others, and others of me, which have no foundation in truth. The first, in many instances I *know* to be the case; and the second I believe to be so. But truth or falsehood is immaterial to them, provided the objects are promoted.

Under this head may be classed, I conceive, what it is reported I have said of Mr. Henry, and what Mr. Jefferson is reported to have said of me; on both of which, particularly the first, I mean to dilate a little. With solemn truth then I can declare, that I never expressed such sentiments of that gentleman, as from your letter he has been led to believe. I had heard, it is true, that he retained his enmity to the constitution; but with very peculiar pleasure I learnt from Colonel Coles, who, I am sure will recollect it, that Mr. Henry was acquiescent in his conduct, and that, though he could not give up his opinion respecting the

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constitution, yet, unless he should be called upon by official duty, he would express no sentiment unfriendly to the exercise of the powers of a government, which had been chosen by a majority of the people, or words to this effect.

Except intimating in this conversation, which, to the best of my recollection, was introduced by Colonel Coles, that report had made Mr. Henry speak a different language; and afterwards at Prince Edward Court-House, where I saw Mr. Venables, and, finding I was within eight or ten miles of Mr. Henry's seat, and expressing my regret at not seeing him, the conversation might be similar to that held with Colonel Coles; I say, except in these two instances, I do not recollect, nor do I believe, that in the course of the journey to and from the southward I ever mentioned Mr. Henry's name in conjunction with the constitution or the government. It is evident, therefore, that these reports are propagated with evil intentions, to create personal differences. On the question of the constitution, Mr. Henry and myself, it is well known, have been of different opinions; but personally I have always respected and esteemed him; nay more, I have conceived myself under obligations to him for the friendly manner in which he transmitted to me some insidious anonymous writings, that were sent to him in the close of the year 1777, with a view to embark him in the opposition that was forming against me at that time.*

I well recollect the conversations you allude to in the winter preceding the last, and I recollect also, that difficulties occurred, which you, any more than myself, were not able to remove. First, though you believed, yet you would not undertake to assert, that Mr. Henry

* See Vol. V. pp. 495, 512, 513.

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would be induced to accept any appointment under the general government; in which case, and supposing him to be inimical to it, the wound the government would receive by his refusal, and the charge of attempting to silence his opposition by a place, would be great. Secondly, because you were of opinion that no office, which would make a residence at the seat of government essential, would comport with his position or views. And, thirdly, because, if there was a vacancy in the supreme judiciary at that time, of which I am not at this time certain, it could not be filled from Virginia, without giving two judges to that State, which would have excited unpleasant sensations in other States. Any thing short of one of the great offices, it could not be presumed he would accept, nor would there, under any opinion he might entertain, have been propriety in. What is it, then, you have in contemplation, that you conceive would be relished? And ought there not to be a moral certainty of its acceptance? This being the case, there would not be wanting a disposition on my part, but strong inducements on public and private grounds, to invite Mr. Henry into any employment under the general government, to which his inclination might lead, and not opposed by those maxims, which have been the invariable rule of my conduct.

With respect to the words said to have been uttered by Mr. Jefferson, they would be enigmatical to those, who are acquainted with the characters about me, unless supposed to be spoken ironically; and in that case they are too injurious to me, and have too little foundation in truth, to be ascribed to him. There could not be the trace of doubt on his mind of predilection in mine towards Great Britain or her politics, unless, which I do not believe, he has set me down as one

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of the most deceitful and uncandid men living; because, not only in private conversations between ourselves on this subject, but in my meetings with the confidential servants of the public, he has heard me often, when occasions presented themselves, express very different sentiments, with an energy that could not be mistaken by any one present.

Having determined, as far as lay within the power of the executive, to keep this country in a state of neutrality, I have made my public conduct accord with the system; and, whilst so acting as a public character, consistency and propriety as a private man forbid those intemperate expressions in favor of one nation, or to the prejudice of another, which many have indulged themselves in, and I will venture to add, to the embarrassment of government, without producing any good to the country. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.*

TO JOHN JAY.

Philadelphia, 30 August, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 23d of June from London, and the duplicate, have both been received; and your safe arrival after so short a passage gave sincere pleasure, as well on private as on public account, to all your friends in this country; and to none in a greater degree, I can venture to assure you, than it did to myself.

As you will receive letters from the Secretary of State's office, giving an official account of the public

* See Governor Lee's letter, and a letter from Patrick Henry, in the APPENDIX, No. XXIII.

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occurrences as they have arisen and progressed, it is unnecessary for me to retouch any of them; and yet I cannot restrain myself from making some observations on the most recent of them, the communication of which was received this morning only. I mean the protest of the governor of Upper Canada, delivered by Lieutenant Sheaffe, against our occupying lands far from any of the posts, which long ago they ought to have surrendered, and far within the known and until now the acknowledged limits of the United States.

On this irregular and high-handed proceeding of Mr. Simcoe, which is no longer masked, I would rather hear what the ministry of Great Britain will say, than pronounce my own sentiments thereon. But can that government or will it attempt, after this official act of one of their governors, to hold out ideas of friendly intentions towards the United States, and suffer such conduct to pass with impunity?

This may be considered as the most open and daring act of the British agents in America, though it is not the most hostile or cruel; for there does not remain a doubt in the mind of any well-informed person in this country, not shut against conviction, that all the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, their hostilities, the murders of helpless women and innocent children along our frontiers, result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country. In vain is it then for its administration in Britain to disavow having given orders, which will warrant such conduct, whilst their agents go unpunished; whilst we have a thousand corroborating circumstances, and indeed almost as many evidences, some of which cannot be brought forward, to prove, that they are seducing from our alliance, and endeavouring to remove over the line, tribes that have hitherto been kept in peace and friendship with

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us at a heavy expense, and who have no causes of complaint, except pretended ones of their creating; whilst they keep in a state of irritation the tribes, who are hostile to us, and are instigating those, who know little of us or we of them, to unite in the war against us; and whilst it is an undeniable fact, that they are furnishing the whole with arms, ammunition, clothing, and even provisions, to carry on the war; I might go further, and, if they are not much belied, add men also in disguise.

Can it be expected, I ask, so long as these things are known in the United States, or at least firmly believed, and suffered with impunity by Great Britain, that there ever will or can be any cordiality between the two countries? I answer, No. And I will undertake, without the gift of prophecy, to predict, that it will be impossible to keep this country in a state of amity with Great Britain long, if the posts are not surrendered. A knowledge of these being my sentiments would have little weight, I am persuaded, with the British administration, and perhaps not with the nation, in effecting the measure; but both may rest satisfied, that, if they want to be in peace with this country, and to enjoy the benefits of its trade, to give up the posts is the only road to it. Withholding them, and the consequences we feel at present continuing, war will be inevitable.

This letter is written to you in extreme haste, whilst the papers respecting this subject I am writing on are copying at the Secretary of State's office, to go by express to New York, for a vessel which we have just heard sails to-morrow. You will readily perceive, therefore, that I have had no time for digesting, and as little for correcting it. I shall only add, that you may be assured always of the sincere friendship and affection of yours, &c.

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TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN.

Philadelphia, 30 August, 1794.

MY LORD,

I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter introducing to me M. Talleyrand-Périgord.* It is matter of no small regret to me, that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest towards that gentleman the sense I entertain of his personal character, and of your Lordship's recommendation.

But I am informed, that the reception he has met with in general has been such, as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe. Time must naturally be favorable to him everywhere, and may be expected to raise a man of his talents and merit above the temporary disadvantages, which in revolutions result from differences of political opinion.

It would be painful to me to anticipate, that the misfortunes of Europe could be the cause of an event, which on every personal account would give me the truest satisfaction; the opportunity of welcoming you to a country, to the esteem of which you have so just a title, and of testifying to you more particularly the sentiments of respect and cordial regard, with which I have the honor to be your Lordship's, &c.

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* See the Marquis of Lansdown's letter above, p. 412.

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TO BURGESS BALL.

Philadelphia, 25 September, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 10th instant from the Sulphur Springs has been received. I hear with the greatest pleasure of the spirit, which so generally pervades the militia of every State, that has been called upon on the present occasion; and of the decided discountenance the disturbers of public peace and order have met with in their attempts to spread their nefarious doctrines, with a view to poison and discontent the minds of the people against the government; particularly by endeavouring to have it believed, that their liberties were assailed, and that all the wicked and abominable measures that can be devised under specious guises are practised to sap the constitution, and lay the foundation of future slavery.

The insurrection in the western counties of this State is a striking evidence of this, and may be considered as the first ripe fruits of the Democratic Societies. I did not, I must confess, expect it would come to maturity so soon, though I never had a doubt that such conduct would produce some such issue, if it did not meet the frowns of those, who were well-disposed to order and good government; for can any thing be more absurd, more arrogant, or more pernicious to the peace of society, than for self-created bodies, forming themselves into permanent censors, and under the shade of night in a conclave resolving that acts of Congress, which have undergone the most deliberate and solemn discussion by the representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose and bringing with them from the different parts of the Union the sense of their constituents, endeavouring

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as far as the nature of the thing will admit to form *their will* into laws for the government of the whole; I say, under these circumstances, for a self-created *permanent* body (for no one denies the right of the people to meet occasionally to petition for, or remonstrate against, any act of the legislature) to declare that *this act* is unconstitutional, and *that act* is pregnant with mischiefs, and that all, who vote contrary to their dogmas, are actuated by selfish motives or under foreign influence, nay, are traitors to their country? Is such a stretch of arrogant presumption to be reconciled with laudable motives, especially when we see the same set of men endeavouring to destroy all confidence in the administration, by arraigning all its acts, without knowing on what ground or with what information it proceeds?

These things were evidently intended, and could not fail without counteraction, to disquiet the public mind; but I hope and trust they will work their own cure; especially when it is known more generally than it is, that the Democratic Society of this place, from which the others have emanated, was instituted by M. Genet for the express purpose of dissension, and to draw a line between the people and the government, after he found the officers of the latter would not yield to the hostile measures in which he wanted to embroil this country.

I hope this letter will find you, Mrs. Ball, and the family in better health, than when you wrote last. Remember me to them, and be assured that I remain your affectionate friend.*

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* Shortly after writing this letter, the President left Philadelphia to join the army, which was then marching to suppress the insurrection in the western parts of Pennsylvania.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN.*

Carlisle, 8 October, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

In the moment I was leaving the city of Philadelphia for this place, your letter of the 24th ultimo was put into my hands. Although I regret the occasion, which has called you into the field, I rejoice to hear you are there; and it is probable I may meet you at Fort Cumberland, whither I shall proceed, so soon as I see the troops at this rendezvous in condition to advance. At that place, or at Bedford, my ulterior resolution must be taken, either to advance with the troops into the insurgent counties of this State, or to return to Philadelphia for the purpose of meeting Congress the 3d of next month.

Imperious circumstances alone can justify my absence from the seat of government, whilst Congress are in session; but if these, from the disposition of the people in the refractory counties, and the state of the information I expect to receive at the advanced posts, should appear to exist, the less must yield to the greater duties of my office, and I shall cross the mountains with the troops; if not, I shall place the command of the combined force under the orders of Governor Lee of Virginia, and repair to the seat of government.

I am perfectly in sentiment with you, that the business we are drawn out upon should be effectually executed, and that the daring and factious spirit, which has arisen to overturn the laws and to subvert the constitution, ought to be subdued. If this is not done, there is an end of, and we may bid adieu to, all

* Commanding a division of the Virginia militia on the expedition to suppress the insurrection. Governor Lee was commander-in-chief.

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government in this country, except mob and club government, from whence nothing but anarchy and confusion can ensue. If the minority, and a small one too, is suffered to dictate to the majority, after measures have undergone the most solemn discussions by the representatives of the people, and their will through this medium is enacted into a law, there can be no security for life, liberty, or property; nor, if the laws are not to govern, can any man know how to conduct himself with safety. There never was a law yet made, I conceive, that hit the taste *exactly* of every man, or every part of the community; of course, if this be a reason for opposition, no law can be executed at all without force, and every man or set of men will in that case cut and carve for themselves; the consequences of which must be deprecated by all classes of men, who are friends to order, and to the peace and happiness of the country. But how can things be otherwise than they are, when clubs and societies have been instituted for the express purpose, though clothed in another garb, by their leader, Genet, whose object was to sow sedition, to poison the minds of the people of this country, and to make them discontented with the government.

As arms have been sent on from Philadelphia, in aid of those from New London,* I hope and trust your supplies have been ample. I shall add no more at present, but my best wishes and sincere regard for you, and that I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

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* In Virginia.

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TO HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Carlisle, 9 October, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 6th came to hand last night.* It would have given me pleasure to have you with me, and advantages might have resulted from it, on my present tour, if your return in time would have allowed it. It is now too late, as we shall be in the act of crossing the mountains, or I shall be on my return to Philadelphia, according to circumstances and the information I shall receive at the head of the line, before you could arrive with any tolerable ease and convenience to proceed, and when the latter, from present appearances, is most likely to happen.

I am very glad to hear of your safe return. We were apprehensive something more than common had happened, from no one having received a line from you for a considerable time before I left the city.

Our accounts from the insurgent counties are neither distinct nor satisfactory. The only occurrence of consequence I have mentioned in a private letter to Mr. Randolph. To-morrow, if I can get the troops in motion at this place, I shall set out for Williamsport, thence to Cumberland, and from thence to Bedford; where, about the 18th or 20th, my ultimate measures will be determined on. In haste, I am yours, &c.†

* General Knox had been absent on a visit to Massachusetts, and had just returned to Philadelphia. He proposed to join the President.

† In a letter written the same day to the Secretary of State, the President said;

"A meeting of the committee of sixty, at Parkinson's Ferry, the 2d instant, has resolved, that, if the signature of submission be not universal, it is not so much owing to any existing disposition to oppose the laws, as to a want of time or information to operate a corresponding sentiment. That the committee unanimously resolved to submit to the laws of the United States, and will support them; that, in the four western

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TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Private.

Fort Cumberland, 16 October, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

Your letters of the 11th instant were received this morning at my stage fifteen miles short of this place. We arrived here in the afternoon of this day, and found a respectable force assembled from the States of Virginia and Maryland; and I am informed that about fifteen hundred more, from the former State, either are or will be at Frankfort, ten miles on our left, this evening or to-morrow at farthest. Nothing more precise, than you were informed of in my last from Carlisle, has been heard from the insurgent counties. All accounts agree, however, that they are much alarmed at the serious appearance of things; the truth of which I expect to be better informed of to-morrow or next day, by persons whom I have sent amongst them, and whose return may be looked for about that time.

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counties of this State, in their opinion there is a general disposition to submit to all laws of the United States, and a determination to support the civil authority in their execution; that William Findlay of Westmoreland county, and David Riddick of Washington county, be commissioners to wait upon the President of the United States and the Governor of Pennsylvania with a copy of these resolutions, and to explain to government the present state of that country, that the President may judge whether an armed force be now necessary to support the civil authority there. These commissioners have not made their appearance yet. The insurgents are alarmed, but not yet brought to their proper senses. Every means is devised by them and their friends and associates elsewhere to induce a belief, that there is no necessity for troops crossing the mountains; although we have information, at the same time, that part of the people there are obliged to embody themselves to repel the insults of another part. The troops at this rendezvous will commence their march for Bedford to-morrow, at which time I shall set out for Williamsport, thence to Fort Cumberland, and thence to Bedford, where, from the information I shall receive in the interim, my ultimate resolution will be taken to proceed or to turn my face towards Philadelphia." — *Carlisle, October 9th.*

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I do not expect to be here more than two days; thence to Bedford, where, as soon as matters are arranged and a plan settled, I shall shape my course for Philadelphia; but not because the impertinence of Mr. Bache or his correspondent has undertaken to pronounce, that I cannot constitutionally command the army, whilst Congress are in session.

I believe the eyes of all the well-disposed people of this country will soon be opened, and that they will clearly see the tendency, if not the design, of the leader of these self-created societies. As far as I have heard them spoken of, it is with strong reprobation. I should be extremely sorry, therefore, if Mr. M——n, from any cause whatsoever, should get entangled with them or their politics.*

As the speech will be composed of several distinct topics, my wish was that each of these should receive its final dress, subject however to revision; that part, especially, which relates to the insurrection and the proceedings thereupon. The subjects themselves will naturally point to the order in which they ought

* *From Mr. Randolph's Letter.* — "Mr. Izard has returned; and his lady is prepared to go immediately to Charleston with the family. Mr. Izard will follow in the spring. I find him under very proper impressions of our public affairs. He mentioned to me that a society under the democratic garb has arisen in South Carolina with the name of *Madisonian*. It is a great grief to me, because it must place Mr. Madison under much embarrassment, either to seem to approve by silence what I am confident he must abhor, or to affront those who intended to evince their respect for him. I hope that he will not hesitate to adopt the latter expedient; for I shall with the freedom of friendship bring before him the genuine state of my mind concerning it. As I remarked to you in conversation, I never did see an opportunity of destroying these self-constituted bodies, until the fruit of their operations was disclosed in the insurrection of Pittsburg. Indeed I was, and am still persuaded, that the language, which was understood to be held by the officers of government in opposition to them, contributed to foster them. They may now, I believe, be crushed. The prospect ought not to be lost." — *October 11th.*

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to follow each other; and the throwing them into it cannot, at any time, be more than the work of a few minutes, after the materials are all provided. It will appear evident, on a moment's reflection, that the continual interruptions in a militia camp, where every thing is to be provided and arranged, will allow no time to clothe the speech in a correct or handsome garb; nor will there be time to do it after my return.

My mind is so perfectly convinced, that, if these self-created societies cannot be discountenanced, they will destroy the government of this country, that I have asked myself, whilst I have been revolving on the expense and inconvenience of drawing so many men from their families and occupations as I have seen on their march, where would be the impropriety of glancing at them in my speech, by some such idea as the following; "That, however distressing this expedition will have proved to individuals, and expensive to the country, the pleasing spirit, which it has drawn forth in support of law and government, will immortalize the American character, and is a happy presage, that future attempts of a certain description of people to disturb the public tranquillity will prove equally abortive." I have formed no precise ideas of what is best to be done or said on this subject, nor have I time to express properly what has occurred to me, as I am now writing at an hour when I ought to be in bed, because during the day, from business or ceremonious introductions, I have been unable to do it sooner. I am, &c.

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TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Private.

Fort Cumberland, 18 October, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I have directed Mr. Dandridge to acknowledge the receipt of your public despatches of the 13th instant, whilst I enclose those of our envoy to you, which came under cover to me in a letter from him, dated the 5th of August, with the following postscript. "I shall enclose with this my despatches for Mr. Randolph. If the *William Penn* should be stopped by a belligerent vessel, they will respect a letter to you, more than one directed to him." On opening it, I find duplicates only.

His private letter to me of the date above, which he wishes may be considered as confidential, (which, and the possible risk, prevent my sending it to you by the returning express,) is a very pleasing one; as it is more indicative of a hope and expectation of general good success in his mission, than any that had come from him before. He conceives, that there is no indisposition in the present ministry to settle the several matters in dispute upon what *they* conceive to be just and liberal terms. But what these may appear to be, when they come to close discussion, no one can prognosticate. To give and take, I presume, will be the result. I am led to draw more favorable inferences from this letter, however, than from any of his preceding ones. I am, &c.*

* *From Mr. Jay's Letter.* — "I am this moment returned from a long conference with Lord Grenville. Our prospects become more and more promising as we advance in the business. The compensation cases (as described in the answer), and the amount of damages will, I have reason to hope, be referred to the decision of commissioners mutually

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TO HENRY LEE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE MILITIA ARMY.

Bedford, 20 October, 1794.

SIR,

Being about to return to the seat of government, I cannot take my departure, without conveying through you to the army under your command, the very high sense I entertain of the enlightened and patriotic zeal for the constitution and the laws, which has led them cheerfully to quit their families, homes, and the comforts of private life, to undertake and thus far to perform a long and fatiguing march, and to encounter and endure the hardships and privations of a military life. Their conduct hitherto affords a full assurance, that their perseverance will be equal to their zeal, and that they will continue to perform with alacrity whatever the full accomplishment of the object of their march shall render necessary.

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to be appointed by the two governments, and the money paid without delay on their certificates, and the business closed as speedily as may be possible. The question of admitting our vessels into the Islands, under certain limitations, is under consideration, and will soon be decided. A treaty of commerce is on the carpet. All other things being agreed, the posts will be included. They contend, that the article about the *negroes* does not extend to those, who came in on their proclamations, to whom (being vested with the property in them by the right of war) they gave freedom, but only to those, who were *bonâ fide* the property of Americans when the war ceased. They will I think insist, that British debts, so far as *injured* by lawful impediments, should be *repaired* by the United States by decision of mutual commissioners. These things have passed in *conversation*, but no commitments on either side; and not to have any official weight or use whatever.

"The King observed to me the other day; 'Well, Sir, I imagine you begin to see, that your mission will probably be successful.'. 'I am happy, may it please your Majesty, to find that you entertain that idea.' 'Well, but don't you perceive, that it is like to be so?' 'There are some recent circumstances' (the answer to my representation, &c.), 'which induce me to flatter myself that it will be so.' He nodded with a smile, signifying that it was to those circumstances that he alluded. The con-

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No citizens of the United States can ever be engaged in a service more important to their country. It is nothing less than to consolidate and to preserve the blessings of that revolution, which, at much expense of blood and treasure, constituted us a free and independent nation. It is to give the world an illustrious example, of the utmost consequence to the cause of mankind. I experience a heart-felt satisfaction in the conviction, that the conduct of the troops throughout will be in every respect answerable to the goodness of the cause and the magnitude of the stake.

There is but one other point on which I think it proper to add a special recommendation; it is, that every officer and soldier will constantly bear in mind, that he comes to support the laws, and that it would be peculiarly unbecoming in him to be in any way the infractor of them; that the essential principles of a free government confine the province of the military, when called forth on such occasions, to these two objects, first, to combat and subdue all who may be

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versation then turned to indifferent topics. This was at the drawing-room.

"I have never been more unceasingly employed, than I have been for some time past and still am; I hope for good, but God only knows. The *William Penn* sails in the morning. I write these few lines in haste, to let you see that the business is going on as fast as can reasonably be expected; and that it is very *important* that peace and quiet should be preserved for the present. On hearing last night, that one of our Indiamen had been carried into Halifax, I mentioned it to Lord Grenville. He will write immediately by the packet on the subject. Indeed I believe they are endeavouring to restore a proper conduct towards us *everywhere*; but it will take some time before the effects will be visible. I write all this to you in *confidence*, and for your own *private* satisfaction. I have not time to explain my reasons, but they are *cogent*. I could fill some sheets with interesting communications, if I had leisure; but other matters press and must not be postponed; for 'there is a tide in the affairs of men,' of which every moment is precious. Whatever may be the issue, nothing in my power to insure success shall be neglected or delayed."— *London, August 5th.*

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found in arms in opposition to the national will and authority, secondly, to aid and support the civil magistrates in bringing offenders to justice. The dispensation of this justice belongs to the civil magistrate; and let it ever be our pride and our glory to leave the sacred deposit there inviolate. Convey to my fellow-citizens in arms my warm acknowledgments for the readiness, with which they have hitherto seconded me in the most delicate and momentous duty the chief magistrate of a free people can have to perform, and add my affectionate wishes for their health, comfort, and success. Could my further presence with them have been necessary, or compatible with my civil duties at a period when the approaching commencement of a session of Congress particularly calls me to return to the seat of government, it would not have been withheld. In leaving them I have the less regret, as I know I commit them to an able and faithful direction, and that this direction will be ably and faithfully seconded by all. I am, &c.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.*

Philadelphia, 31 October, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

By pushing through the rain, which fell more or less on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, I arrived in this city before noon on Tuesday, without encountering any accident on the road, or any thing more unpleasant than the badness of the ways, after the rains had softened the earth and made them susceptible of a deep

* Mr. Hamilton remained with the army after the President left it. He proceeded onward with the detachment that went to Pittsburg.

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impression of the wheels. How you passed through the glades, after the various accounts we had received of them, in such wet weather, I am at a loss to conjecture, but am extremely anxious to know; as I also am to learn the operations of the army, and the state and condition of it since.

Nothing important or new has been lately received from our ministers abroad; and, although accounts from London to the 1st of September, and from Ireland of still later date, have been inserted in the gazettes, they are not precise enough to be detailed in a letter. In general, however, the French continue to be successful by land; and, it may be added, by sea also, for they are capturing a great number of British merchantmen. Nor does the fate of Robespierre seem to have given more than a momentary stagnation to their affairs. The armies rejoice at it, and the people are congratulating one another on the occasion.

Mr. Monroe has arrived in France, and had his reception in the midst of the Convention at Paris; but no letters have been received from him.

Few members of Congress have yet come to town. To-morrow, I presume, will bring many. The papers say, that Mr. Trumbull is elected to the Senate, in the room of Mr. Mitchell, who has resigned; but who has, or will, supply his place in the other House, is not mentioned.

Husband* and the other prisoners were safely lodged

* Herman Husband, who had been a distinguished leader among the *Regulators* in North Carolina a short time before the revolution. See JONES's *Defence of North Carolina*, &c. p. 34. Husband was now taken into custody on suspicion of being an active fomenter of the insurrection. A friend of his, however, who resided in Maryland, said in a letter to the President; "I know that his sentiments were always in favor of the excise law, and that he did all that he could to prevent the people of the western counties from opposing the execution of the law,

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in this city on Wednesday afternoon. Press the governors * to be pointed in ordering the officers under their respective commands to march back with their respective corps; and to see that the inhabitants meet with no disgraceful insults or injuries from them. The

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and I know he is a good friend to liberty and his country." — *December 20th.*

* The governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were at the head of the troops of their respective States.

The following are extracts from Hamilton's letters to the President, after the latter returned to Philadelphia.

"*Berlin, Third Day's March, October 25th, seven o'clock, P. M.* — We arrived here this afternoon. A very heavy rain has rendered the march extremely arduous and distressing; but we find here much better shelter than was foreseen. Our baggage and stores are just beginning to arrive. The Jersey line and brigade of cavalry took the right-hand road about five miles back. To-morrow we shall continue our march, and I hope that we shall conform to the general arrangement, though we must shorten to-morrow's march, and lengthen that of the day following. The troops have shown all the patience that could have been expected. In short, I perceive nothing amiss."

"*Berlin, October 26th.* — The very late arrival of the wagons, the injury to a number of them, and the dispersed situation of the troops, render it impracticable to leave this place to-day as was intended. But the baggage and stores go forward, and to-morrow the troops must move. I apprehend no material derangement of the general plan. An express has been despatched to Governor Lee, advising him of the state of things here. Nothing from the western country."

"*Jones's Mill, October 29th.* — The light corps, with the Jersey infantry and brigade of cavalry, are at Indian Creek, in Ligonier Valley, where they continue till this division gets up, which will be this evening, as the march will commence in an hour. This division had, I believe, the worst road, and was besides encumbered with all the spare stores, which has thrown it a day's march behind the other. But, by a letter received yesterday from Governor Lee, it appears that the right wing is fully in measure with the left. All is essentially well with both wings, and the troops continue to show as much good humor as could possibly have been expected. The meeting at Parkinson's Ferry ended, *we are told*, in a new appointment of commissioners to deprecate the advance of the army, and in new expressions of pacific intentions. But there is nothing, which can occasion a question about the propriety of the army's proceeding to its ultimate destination. No appearances whatever of opposition occur."

"*Camp, One Mile and a Half beyond Cherry's Mill, October 31st.* — The

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Secretary of War will, I expect, say something respecting the deposit of the arms and public stores in proper places. To him, therefore, I shall refer.

Mrs. Hamilton and your family were very well yesterday afternoon. Your letter of the 23d has been received. I am always and affectionately yours.

New Jersey infantry and brigade of cavalry are at this place. The Pennsylvania infantry will be here this evening. The light corps is advanced about two miles. No official account since that heretofore communicated has come from the left wing; but a person, who came from Uniontown yesterday, informs that Morgan with the advance was there, the main body about twenty miles behind. I propose in about an hour to set out for Uniontown. All announces trepidation and submission. The new commissioners have been with Governor Mifflin, charged with new declarations by townships, battalions of militia, &c., of a disposition to obey the laws. The impression is certainly for the present strong, but it will be stronger and more permanent by what is to follow. It does not appear that any great number have fled."

"*Cherry's Mill, November 3d.* — I have returned to this place from Uniontown. A letter from Governor Lee, which goes with this, probably informs you of the plan of future operations; but, lest it should not, I shall briefly state it. The right wing is to take a position with its left towards Budd's Ferry, and its right towards Greensburg. The left wing is to be posted between the Youghiogany and Monongahela, with its left towards the latter, and its right towards the former. Morgan with his command, including the whole of the light corps and perhaps a part of the brigade of cavalry, will go into Washington county. It is not unlikely, that, in the course of the business, a part of the troops will take a circuit by Pittsburg; for the more places they can appear in without loss of time the better. In adopting this plan, the circumstance of much delay in crossing and recrossing waters has weighed powerfully, and the quiescent state of the country renders the plan entirely safe. Boats however will be collected on both waters to facilitate mutual communication and support."

"*Pittsburg, November 17th.* — The judiciary corps, with myself, arrived here last evening. The list of prisoners has been very considerably increased, probably to the amount of one hundred and fifty; but it is not yet so digested as to be forwarded. Governor Lee just informs me, that he has received a letter from Marietta, advising him of the apprehending of John Holcroft, the reputed *Tom the Tinker*, and one Wright, a notorious offender. Subsequent intelligence shows, that there is no regular assemblage of the fugitives where it is supposed; there are only small vagrant parties in that quarter, affording no point of attack. Every

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TO JOHN JAY.

Private.

Philadelphia, 1 November, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

On Tuesday last I returned from my tour to the westward. On Monday Congress by adjournment are to meet, and on the day following Mr. Bayard, according to his present expectation, is to leave this city for London.

Thus circumstanced, having so little time between my return and the opening of the session to examine papers and to prepare my communications for the legislature, you will readily perceive, that my present address to you must be hurried. At the same time my friendship and regard for you would not let an opportunity so good as the one afforded by Mr. Bayard pass, without some testimony of my remembrance of you, and an acknowledgment of the receipt of your private letters to me, dated the 23d of June, 21st of July, and 5th and 11th of August. These are all the letters I have received from you since your arrival in England to the present date.

That of the 5th of August dawns more favorably upon the success of your mission, than any that had preceded it; and for the honor, dignity, and interest

thing is urging on for the return of the troops. The engagement of a corps to remain here goes on, it is said, well."

"*Pittsburg, November 19th, seven o'clock, P. M.* — I wrote to you the day before yesterday by express. Nothing material remains to be said. The army is generally in motion homeward; the Virginia line by way of Morgantown to Winchester; the Maryland, by way of Uniontown to Williamsport; the Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by the old Pennsylvania route to Bedford. The judiciary is industrious in prosecuting the examinations of prisoners, among whom is a sufficient number of proper ones for examples, and with sufficient evidence. In five minutes I set out for Philadelphia."

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of this country, for your own reputation and glory, and for the peculiar pleasure and satisfaction I should derive from it, as well on private as on public considerations, no man more ardently wishes you complete success than I do. But as you have observed in some of your letters, that it is hardly possible in the early stages of a negotiation to foresee all the results, so much depending upon fortuitous circumstances and incidents, which are not within our control; so, to deserve success by employing the means of which we are possessed to the best advantage, and trusting the rest to the All-wise Disposer, is all that an enlightened public, and the virtuous and well-disposed part of the community, can reasonably expect; nor in this will they, I am sure, be disappointed. Against the malignancy of the discontented, the turbulent, and the vicious, no abilities, no exertions, nor the most unshaken integrity are any safeguard.

As far as depends upon the executive, measures preparatory for the worst, while it hopes for the best, will be pursued; and I shall endeavour to keep things *in statu quo* until your negotiation assumes a more decisive form, which I hope will soon be the case, as there are many hot heads and impetuous spirits among us, who with difficulty can be kept within bounds. This, however, ought not to precipitate your conduct; for, as it has been observed, "there is a tide in the affairs of men" that ought always to be watched; and because I believe all, who are acquainted with you, will readily concede, that considerations both public and private combine to urge you to bring your mission to a close with as much celerity as the nature of it will admit.

As you have been, and will continue to be, fully informed by the Secretary of State of all transactions

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of a public nature, which relate to, or may have an influence on, the points of your mission, it would be unnecessary for me to touch upon any of them in this letter, were it not for the presumption that the insurrection in the western counties of this State has excited much speculation, and a variety of opinions abroad, and will be represented differently according to the wishes of some and the prejudices of others, who may exhibit it as an evidence of what has been predicted, "that we are unable to govern ourselves." Under this view of the subject, I am happy in giving it to you as the general opinion, that this event having happened at the time it did was fortunate, although it will be attended with considerable expense.

That the self-created societies, which have spread themselves over this country, have been laboring incessantly to sow the seeds of distrust, jealousy, and of course discontent, thereby hoping to effect some revolution in the government, is not unknown to you. That they have been the fomenters of the western disturbances admits of no doubt in the mind of any one, who will examine their conduct; but fortunately they precipitated a crisis for which they were not prepared, and thereby have unfolded views, which will, I trust, effectuate their annihilation sooner than it might otherwise have happened; at the same time that it has afforded an occasion for the people of this country to show their abhorrence of the result, and their attachment to the constitution and the laws; for I believe that five times the number of militia, that was required, would have come forward, if it had been necessary, in support of them.

The spirit, which blazed out on this occasion, as soon as the object was fully understood, and the lenient measures of the government were made known to the

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people, deserves to be communicated. There are instances of general officers going at the head of a single troop, and of light companies; of field-officers, when they came to the places of rendezvous, and found no command for them in that grade, turning into the ranks and proceeding as private soldiers, under their own captains; and of numbers, possessing the first fortunes in the country, standing in the ranks as private men, and marching day by day with their knapsacks and haversacks at their backs, sleeping on straw with a single blanket in a soldier's tent, during the frosty nights, which we have had, by way of example to others. Nay more, many young Quakers of the first families, character, and property, not discouraged by the elders, have turned into the ranks and are marching with the troops.

These things have terrified the insurgents, who had no conception that such a spirit prevailed, but, while the thunder only rumbled at a distance, were boasting of their strength, and wishing for and threatening the militia by turns; intimating that the arms they should take from them would soon become a magazine in their hands. Their language is much changed indeed, but their principles want correction.

I shall be more prolix in my speech to Congress on the commencement and progress of this insurrection, than is usual in such an instrument, or than I should have been on any other occasion; but, as numbers at home and abroad will hear of the insurrection, and will read the speech, that may know nothing of the documents to which it might refer, I conceived it would be better to encounter the charge of prolixity by giving a cursory detail of facts, that would show the prominent features of the thing, than to let it go naked into the world, to be dressed up according to

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the fancy or inclination of the readers, or the policy of our enemies.

I write nothing in answer to the letter of Mr. Wangenheim, enclosed by you to me. Were I to enter into correspondences of that sort, admitting there was no impropriety in the measure, I should be unable to attend to my ordinary duties. I have established it as a maxim neither to invite nor to discourage emigrants. My opinion is, that they will come hither as fast as the true interest and policy of the United States will be benefited by foreign population. I believe many of these, as Mr. Wangenheim relates, have been, and I fear will continue to be, imposed on by speculators in land and other things; but I know of no prevention but caution, nor any remedy except the laws. Nor is military or other employment so easily obtained as foreigners conceive, in a country where offices bear no proportion to the seekers of them.

With sincere esteem, &c.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I. p. 1.

APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

As it was known, that the votes for President in the several States had been given for General Washington, he was of course prepared to proceed to New York and meet Congress, as soon as his appointment should be officially notified. Although the 4th of March was the day assigned for the assembling of Congress, yet a quorum of the two Houses was not formed till the 6th of April. On that day the votes of the electors were opened and counted, in the presence of the two Houses, and it appeared that George Washington was unanimously chosen President of the United States, and that John Adams was chosen Vice-President. The Senate, with the consent of the other House, appointed Charles Thomson to be the bearer of this intelligence to Mount Vernon. Mr. Langdon, President of the Senate *pro tempore*, sent the following letter by the hand of Mr. Thomson.

JOHN LANGDON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"New York, 6 April, 1789.

"Sir,

"I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of President of the United States of America. Suffer me, Sir, to indulge the hope, that so auspicious a mark of public confidence will meet your approbation, and be considered as a pledge of the affection and support you are to expect from a free and enlightened people.

"I am, Sir, with sentiments of respect, &c.

"John Langdon."

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In the execution of his mission, Mr. Thomson arrived at Mount Vernon on the 14th of April, at half past twelve o'clock. He was accompanied by Dr. Craik and Mr. Hubert of Alexandria. After having rested and refreshed himself, Mr. Thomson rose with an air of formality, and presented to the President elect the despatch he had brought from Mr. Langdon, explaining the object of his mission, and the pleasure it gave him to be the bearer of such a message. He then made the following

ADDRESS.

"SIR,

"The President of the Senate, chosen for the special purpose, having opened and counted the votes of the electors in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, I was honored with the commands of the Senate to wait upon your Excellency with the information of your being elected to the office of President of the United States of America. This commission was entrusted to me on account of my having been long in the confidence of the late Congress, and charged with the duties of one of the principal civil departments of government.

"I have now, Sir, to inform you, that the proofs you have given of your patriotism, and of your readiness to sacrifice domestic ease and private enjoyments to preserve the happiness of your country, did not permit the two Houses to harbour a doubt of your undertaking this great and important office, to which you are called, not only by the unanimous votes of the electors, but by the voice of America.

"I have it, therefore, in command, to accompany you to New York, where the Senate and House of Representatives are convened for the despatch of public business."

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S REPLY.

"SIR,

"I have been accustomed to pay so much respect to the opinion of my fellow-citizens, that the knowledge of their having given their unanimous suffrages in my favor scarcely leaves me the alternative for an option. I cannot, I believe, give a greater evidence of my sensibility to the honor, which they have done me, than by accepting the appointment.

"I am so much affected by this fresh proof of my country's esteem and confidence, that silence can best explain my gratitude. While I realize the arduous nature of the task, which is imposed upon me, and feel my own inability to perform it, I wish that

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there may not be reason for regretting the choice; for, indeed, all I can promise is only to accomplish that, which can be done by an honest zeal.

"Upon considering how long time some of the gentlemen of both Houses of Congress have been at New York, how anxiously desirous they must be to proceed to business, and how deeply the public mind appears to be impressed with the necessity of doing it speedily, I cannot find myself at liberty to delay my journey. I shall, therefore, be in readiness to set out the day after to-morrow, and shall be happy in the pleasure of your company; for you will permit me to say, that it is a peculiar gratification to have received this communication from you."

Accordingly on the 16th of April he commenced his journey. "About ten o'clock," says he, in his *Diary*, "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." On his way to Alexandria, he was met by several gentlemen belonging to that city, where an entertainment was provided for him, and where he received and answered a public address. During the whole route the strongest demonstrations of joy and respect were manifested by the people. As he approached the several towns through which he passed, the most respectable citizens came out to meet and welcome him; he was escorted from place to place by bodies of militia; and in the principal cities he was received with the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and military parade.

A committee of Congress, consisting of three members from the Senate, and five from the House of Representatives, was appointed to meet the President at the place of his embarkation in New Jersey, and attend him to the city of New York. While in Philadelphia he received a letter from the committee, to which he returned the following reply.

"Philadelphia, 20 April, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Upon my arrival in this city, I received your note with the resolution of the two Houses, which accompanied it, and in answer thereto beg leave to inform you, that, knowing how anxious both Houses must be to proceed to business, I shall continue my journey with as much despatch as possible. To-morrow evening

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I propose to be at Trenton, the night following at Brunswic, and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you at Elizabethtown Point on Thursday at twelve o'clock.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The deputation from Congress accordingly met him at the time and place appointed. He was received by them in a barge, splendidly fitted up for the occasion, and rowed by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. This barge was accompanied by several others, in one of which were the members of the Treasury Board, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary of War. These were followed by a long train of vessels and boats collected from New York and New Jersey. As the President's barge approached the city, a salute of thirteen guns was fired from vessels in the harbour, and from the Battery. At Murray's Wharf, where he landed at three o'clock, he was again saluted by a discharge of artillery, and was received by the governor and other officers of the State, and the Corporation of the city. Here commenced a procession, headed by a long military train under the command of General Malcolm, which was followed by the principal officers of the State and city, the clergy, the French and Spanish ministers, and a great concourse of citizens. The procession advanced to the house prepared for the reception of the President. He thence went privately to Governor Clinton's, where he dined. The city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.

As soon as circumstances would admit, preparations were made for his meeting Congress and taking the oath of office. This subject was referred to a committee, who reported, on the 25th of April,

"That the President has been pleased to signify to them, that any time or place, which both Houses may think proper to appoint, and any manner, which shall appear most eligible to them, will be acceptable to him; that the requisite preparations cannot be made before Thursday next; that the President be on that day formally received by both Houses in the Senate-chamber; that, the Representatives' chamber being capable of receiving the greater number of persons, therefore the President do take the oath in that place, and in the presence of both Houses; that, after the formal reception of the President in the Senate-chamber, he be attended by both Houses to the Representatives' chamber, and that the oath be administered by the chancellor of this State."

This report was agreed to, but the place of administering the oath was subsequently changed to the outer gallery, or balcony,

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of the Senate-chamber, as giving an opportunity for a larger number of persons to witness the ceremony. The following account is from a manuscript *Diary* kept by Mr. Lear, who was at that time the President's secretary.

"*April 30th.* — The morning was employed in making such arrangements as were necessary for the ceremonies of the day. At nine o'clock all the churches in the city were opened, and prayers offered up to the Great Ruler of the universe for the preservation of the President. At twelve the troops of the city paraded before our door, and, soon after, the committees of Congress and heads of departments came in their carriages to wait upon the President to the Federal Hall. At half past twelve the procession moved forward, the troops marching in front with all the ensigns of military parade. Next came the committees and heads of departments in their carriages. Next the President in the state coach, and Colonel Humphreys and myself in the President's own carriage. The foreign ministers and a long train of citizens brought up the rear.

"About two hundred yards before we reached the hall, we descended from our carriages, and passed through the troops, who were drawn up on each side, into the Hall and Senate-chamber, where we found the Vice-President, the Senate, and House of Representatives assembled. They received the President in the most respectful manner, and the Vice-President conducted him to a spacious and elevated seat at the head of the room. A solemn silence prevailed. The Vice-President soon arose and informed the President, that all things were prepared to administer the oath whenever he should see fit to proceed to the balcony and receive it. He immediately descended from his seat, and advanced through the middle door of the Hall to the balcony. The others passed through the doors on each side. The oath was administered in public by Chancellor Livingston; and, the moment the chancellor proclaimed him President of the United States, the air was rent by repeated shouts and huzzas, — '*God bless our Washington! Long live our beloved President!*' We again returned into the Hall, where, being seated as before for a few moments, the President arose and addressed the two branches of Congress in a speech, which was heard with eager and marked attention.

"After the President had finished his speech, we proceeded from the Senate-chamber on foot to St. Paul's church, in the same order that we had observed in our carriages, where the

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bishop read prayers suited to the occasion. We were then met at the church door by our carriages, and we went home.

"In the evening there was a display of most beautiful fire-works and transparent paintings at the Battery. The President, Colonel Humphreys, and myself went in the beginning of the evening in the carriages to Chancellor Livingston's and General Knox's, where we had a full view of the fire-works. We returned home at ten on foot, the throng of people being so great as not to permit a carriage to pass through it."

In his *Diary* on the 5th of May, Mr. Lear says, "This being a day for receiving company of ceremony, we had a numerous and splendid circle between the hours of two and three in the afternoon. A committee of the House of Representatives waited on the President with a copy of the address of their House, and a request to know when it would be agreeable to him to receive it."

Mrs. Washington did not arrive in New York till the 27th of May. She was met by the President with his barge at Elizabethtown Point, and by several other persons of distinction, who accompanied her to the city. She was saluted by a discharge of thirteen cannon, as the barge was passing the Battery. Crowds were assembled at the place of landing to welcome her, and she was escorted to her house with military parade.

No. II. p. 4.

QUERIES BY THE PRESIDENT, RESPECTING THE SYSTEM OF CONDUCT TO BE ADOPTED BY HIM IN HIS PRIVATE INTERCOURSE.

The situation of the President being novel, and without any precedents by which he could be guided, he was at a loss to determine what system of conduct, in matters of etiquette and private intercourse, would be the most convenient to himself, the best suited to his station, and the most acceptable to the public. That he might be enabled to decide and act in conformity with the views of those, in whose judgment he confided, he sent the following *Queries* to the Vice-President, Mr. Jay, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and perhaps others, with a request that they would respectively communicate their sentiments on the subject of them.

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Some of these gentlemen, if not all, gave answers in writing, but the only answer found among Washington's papers is that of the Vice-President.

QUERIES.

"1. Whether a line of conduct, equally distant from an association with all kinds of company on the one hand, and from a total seclusion from society on the other, ought to be adopted by him? And in that case, how is it to be done?

"2. What will be the least exceptionable method of bringing any system, which may be adopted on this subject, before the public and into use?

"3. Whether, after a little time, one day in every week will not be sufficient for receiving visits of compliment?

"4. Whether it would tend to prompt impertinent applications, and involve disagreeable consequences, to have it known that the President will, every morning at eight o'clock, be at leisure to give audience to persons, who may have business with him?

"5. Whether, when it shall have been understood, that the President is not to give general entertainments in the manner the presidents of Congress have formerly done, it will be practicable to draw such a line of discrimination, in regard to persons, as that six, eight, or ten official characters, including in rotation the members of both Houses of Congress, may be invited informally, or otherwise, to dine with him on the days fixed for receiving company, without exciting clamors in the rest of the community?

"6. Whether it would be satisfactory to the public for the President to make about four great entertainments in a year, on such great occasions as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the alliance with France, the peace with Great Britain, the organization of the general government; and whether arrangements of these two last kinds could be in danger of diverting too much of the President's time from business, or of producing the evils, which it was intended to avoid by his living more recluse than the presidents of Congress have heretofore lived?

"7. Whether there would be any impropriety in the President's making informal visits; that is to say, in his calling upon his acquaintances or public characters, for the purpose of sociability or civility? And what, as to the form of doing it, might evince these visits to have been made in his private character, so as

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that they may not be construed into visits from the President of the United States? And in what light would his appearance *rarely* at tea-parties be considered?

"8. Whether, during the recess of Congress, it would not be advantageous to the interests of the Union for the President to make the tour of the United States, in order to become better acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well-informed persons, who might give him useful information and advice on political subjects?

"9. If there is a probability, that either of the arrangements may take place, which will eventually cause additional expenses, whether it would not be proper that those ideas should come into contemplation at the time when Congress shall make a permanent provision for the support of the executive?

"*Remarks.* On the one side, no augmentation can be effected in the pecuniary establishment, which shall be made in the first instance for the support of the executive. On the other, all moneys destined to that purpose, beyond the actual expenditures, will be left in the treasury of the United States, or sacredly applied to the promotion of some national objects.

"Many things, which appear of little importance in themselves and at the beginning, may have great and durable consequences from their having been established at the commencement of a new general government. It will be much easier to commence the administration upon a well-adjusted system, built on tenable grounds, than to correct errors, or alter inconveniences, after they shall have been confirmed by habit. The President, in all matters of business and etiquette, can have no object but to demean himself in his public character in such a manner as to maintain the dignity of his office, without subjecting himself to the imputation of superciliousness or unnecessary reserve. Under these impressions, he asks for your candid and undisguised opinion."

THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

"1. That an association with all kinds of company, and a total seclusion from society, are extremes, which, in the actual circumstances of this country, and under our form of government, may be properly avoided.

"2. The system of the President will gradually develope itself in practice, without any formal communication to the legislature, or publication from the press. Paragraphs in the public prints

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may however appear from time to time, without any formal authority, that may lead and reconcile the public mind.

"3. Considering the number of strangers from many countries, and of citizens from various States, who will resort to the seat of government, it is doubted whether two days in a week will not be indispensable for visits of compliment. A little experience, however, will elucidate this point.

"4. Under the fourth head, it is submitted to consideration, whether all personal applications ought not to be made in the first instance to a minister of state. Yet an appeal should be open by petition to the President, who, if he judges the subject worthy of it, may admit the party to a personal interview. Access to the supreme magistrate ought not to be rigorously denied in any case that is worthy of his consideration. Nevertheless, in every case, the name, quality, and, when these are not sufficient to raise a presumption in their favor, their business ought to be communicated to a chamberlain, or gentleman in waiting, who should judge whom to admit, and whom to exclude. Some limitation of time may be necessary, too, as for example from eight to nine or ten; for without it the whole forenoon, or the whole day, may be taken up.

"5. There is no doubt that the President may invite what official characters, members of Congress, strangers, or citizens of distinction he pleases in small parties without exciting clamors; but this should always be done without formality.

"6. The entertainments mentioned in this article would much more properly be made by a minister of state for foreign or domestic affairs, or some other minister of state, or the Vice-President, either of whom upon such occasions the President, in his private character, might honor with his presence. But in no case whatever can I conceive it proper for the President to make any formal public entertainment.

"7. There can be no impropriety in the President's making or receiving informal visits among his friends or acquaintances at his pleasure. Undress, and few attendants, will sufficiently show that such visits are made as a man and a citizen, a friend or acquaintance. But in no case whatever should a visit be made or returned in form by the President; at least unless an emperor of Germany, or some other sovereign, should travel to this country. The President's pleasure should absolutely decide concerning his attendance at tea-parties in a private character; and no gentleman or lady ought ever to complain, if he never or rarely

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attends. The President's private life should be at his own discretion, and the world should respectfully acquiesce; but as President he should have no intercourse with society, but upon public business, or at his levees. This distinction, it is with submission apprehended, ought to govern the whole conduct.

"8. A tour might no doubt be made with great advantage to the public, if the time can be spared; but it will naturally be considered, as foreign affairs arrive every day, and the business of the executive and judicial departments will require constant attention, whether the President's residence will not necessarily be confined to one place.

"*Observations.* The civil list ought to provide for the President's household. What number of chamberlains, aids-de-camp, secretaries, masters of ceremonies, &c. will become necessary, it is difficult to foresee; but should not all such establishments be distinct from the allowance to the President for his services, which is mentioned in the constitution? In all events, the provision for the President and his household ought to be large and ample. The office, by its legal authority defined in the constitution, has no equal in the world, excepting those only which are held by crowned heads; nor is the royal authority in all cases to be compared to it. The royal office in Poland is a mere shadow in comparison with it. The Dogeship in Venice, and the Stadtholdership in Holland, are not so much. Neither dignity nor authority can be supported in human minds, collected into nations or any great numbers, without a splendor and majesty in some degree proportioned to them. The sending and receiving ambassadors is one of the most splendid and important prerogatives of sovereigns absolute or limited; and this in our constitution is in the President. If the state and pomp essential to this great department are not preserved, it will be in vain for America to hope for consideration with foreign powers.

"These observations are submitted, after all, with diffidence; conscious that my long residence abroad may have impressed me with views of things incompatible with the present temper and feelings of our fellow-citizens; and with a perfect disposition to acquiesce in whatever may be the result of the superior wisdom of the President."

The compensation of the President was fixed, by a law passed on the 24th of September, 1789, at twenty-five thousand dollars a year, and the use of the furniture and other effects of the house in which he then lived.

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No. III. p. 11.

REMARKS OF THE FRENCH MINISTER ON THE MODE OF INTERCOURSE TO BE PURSUED BETWEEN HIM AND THE PRESIDENT.

COUNT DE MOUSTIER TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

New York, 19 May, 1789.

SIR,

Peculiar circumstances require peculiar measures. It was on this principle, that I conceived there was no impropriety in soliciting an audience, which seemed to me not only convenient, but necessary to pave the way to the future management of business between the two nations. As by the transformation of the federal government of the United States the established forms have ceased, the first measure ought, as I conceive, to be a confidential one, and of such a nature as behoves friends; for I dare assert, Sir, that this name fits a man chosen to act a friendly part, by a King of France and in behalf of the most powerful nation in Europe, towards a nation to whose success that King and that nation have so much and so gladly contributed.

The question is not to define what shall be the intercourse between the President of the United States and the minister of France. You are, Sir, too much enlightened and too much attached to the true interests of your country not to think, that the most immediate intercourse between those two characters is the most proper. Any person, who should attempt to erect a wall between them, could not be considered as your personal friend, nor as the friend of your country. Such an attempt could have no other object, than to render you, Sir, instrumental to private views. And I believe there are few characters, not merely in America but in the world, who like General Washington are superior to private interests.

I fondly hope, Sir, that nobody has yet presumed to insinuate that it would be beneath the dignity of a President of the United States occasionally to transact business with a foreign minister. As there are ministers of different degrees, so there are ministers of different powers. I have been used to believe that a French nobleman, employed as minister plenipotentiary of the King of France, might in some cases transact business with any sovereign, even *de proprio jure*. On the other side, I conceive that a President of the United States would expose himself to lose one of the

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most important of his functions, if for the sake of dignity he should be so circumscribed as not to be able to take any step in foreign politics without the intermediate agency of persons, who, notwithstanding the abilities they possess, might not inspire the same confidence, nor perhaps act with the same impartiality.

These observations are submitted, not to the President of the United States, but to General Washington, who more than any American has had proofs of the candor, liberality, regard, and affection of the French nation. Those sentiments he will experience still more in the high station he now occupies; and this letter is a convincing proof, that the man who represents that nation is very solicitous to contribute to the personal glory and satisfaction of General Washington, as well as to the success of the President of the United States.

My sincerity in this circumstance can only be attributed to the concern I take in your happiness, and in the welfare of the country whose direction is intrusted to your care.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.

COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

P. S. To avoid the inconveniences attending the translation of a *confidential* letter, I have exposed myself *for this time* to write in a language, in which I am not used to write, and which I would not employ in any official transactions.

COUNT DE MOUSTIER TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

New York, 1 June, 1789.

SIR,

It is truly mortifying to me to be under the disadvantage of using a foreign language in which I am so little versed. I conceive I must have committed errors, from the interpretation you have given,* Sir, to my preceding letter, in regard to two points, which were far from my intention. The first is relative to the application of the general principle, on which I thought that a private audience from you, at the beginning of a new form of government (in order to talk in general terms of the situation in which this total change placed myself), would be proper. The peculiar circumstances to which I alluded were those resulting from the change of the representative of the collective sovereignty of the United States. Their affections, principles, and interests, I conceive, have not ceased to be the same. But, as they have

* See the President's letter, dated May 25th.

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had the wisdom to choose a proper organ to express the first and cherish the others, I was eager to hear from that organ expressions similar to those, which I had used formerly in different circumstances, without having ever had an opportunity of receiving any of the same nature; but I had not, either from personal impulse, or from the direction of my court, the least idea of making the most remote overture for any negotiation whatsoever. And I happily know of no peculiar circumstance, which might have occasioned it.

I sincerely wish that the situation of the United States may preserve them for ever from taking any share in the local politics of Europe. But we have been used to believe, that the fire of war was too easily spread over the four parts of the world by a cannon-ball, shot on the seas of one of them, and most likely it is from that observation, that the United States have stipulated with France the guarantee of their possessions. I quote this, Sir, only to show, that any distance of the fire is not an absolute, but only a probable reason, to expect not to be concerned in it. But there has never existed, nor does there exist, any ground for negotiations relative to such an event, nor is any other negotiation brought forward on the side of France with the United States. They alone have made demands, which have been received as readily and favored as much, as the circumstances enabled the King to listen to his affection towards the United States.

What has been demanded in the King's name was no more than the conclusion of an act, which had been predetermined by the treaty, that is, a convention to agree upon the functions of the consuls in both countries. Such an act is at least as necessary to the commercial interest of the United States, as it is to that of the French nation. And as it is concluded, and has been signed lately by the respective plenipotentiaries, there is nothing left to be done but to send from hence the ratification of the proper power. In mentioning this *in conversation*, I have given a proof that I did not mean to act officially with the President of the United States; for if I had received orders to take such a measure, I would certainly have either followed the only form which I knew, or have required to be previously officially informed of the new form, that would answer the purpose.

This is, I apprehend, the second error to which my unskilfulness in the English language has given rise. I was far from conceiving the least idea to introduce any form for the transaction of business between the government of the United States and the

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representative of a foreign power. I have made it an object of my particular attention to study the origin of the system established in Europe, respecting the departments of the branches of administration; and as it was in France, that they were first introduced, I am confident that I may point out the advantages as well as the inconveniences of the system. This might be a topic of an interesting conversation, or of a pamphlet, but would be too long for a special letter. It may be enough to say, that I highly approve and admire a proper distribution of powers, and that when the officers are kept in due bounds as to their competency, nothing is more favorable to the expedition of business.

I am also of opinion, that sovereigns have very wisely introduced the form of communication of business through the channel of persons intrusted with their confidence and power. But as I think, at the same time, that cases may happen in which it would be dangerous to employ those channels, it occurred to me, that an absolute denial of an immediate communication would be a real abridgment of the powers of the sovereign, and of the most valuable prerogative of their representatives abroad, allowed by all writers on the functions of public ministers, which is to have, when desired, an immediate communication with the sovereign to whom they are sent. As to the application of this principle, it depends altogether on the prudence and a proper knowledge of the motives, which may render such a measure, or continuance of a measure, either necessary or proper. It is on that distinction, that depends the facility of extending or restraining the practice of communication with all diplomatic characters. Public forms are not to vary, but confidential measures are adapted to circumstances; so that it is easier to quote facts on this question, than to fix principles, which serve rather for public forms. What has passed in the United States, since their formation as an independent and sovereign power, could furnish part of those facts.

If I have gone too far in supposing, that, at the establishment of forms adapted to a new government, some people might, according to what history and modern times sufficiently show, under various pretences, among which I only expressed the dignity of the President of the United States, strive to enlarge the importance of their offices, I have been led to it by the consideration of possible things, and by an apprehension of an event, which, wherever it has happened, has been almost imperceptible, which is the reason why at all times offices have become more or less important and analogous to their institutions, as the persons invested with

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them have made encroachments or losses. I can assure you, Sir, that if the United States could be happy enough to have always a Washington for their chief magistrate, I would not have conceived any such apprehension, which I have endeavoured to express by the figure of erecting walls. But as it is not in the course of nature to be prodigal of distinguished characters, particularly in the highest stations, I have been induced to be perhaps too cautious. Thus when I am to embark, though I should see the finest appearance of a favorable sea, I would not forget the possibility of a storm, and would in consequence provide against the effects of it as much as lay in my power.

The object of my hazarding to intrude anew on your patience, Sir, was the desire of clearing myself even from the suspicion, that I had presumed to influence in any way the measures of the government of the United States. I wish I may have succeeded in clearing myself entirely of the suspicion of a presuming character. The only one, which I seek to establish here, is that of the most sincere friend of a nation, which is considered in the most friendly way by my sovereign and my nation.

You may conceive, Sir, that this explanation could not be thought unnecessary by a man, who knows how to value the sentiments and opinions of General Washington, to whom alone, in the present circumstance, he has addressed himself.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.

COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

No. IV. p. 12.

WASHINGTON'S HABIT IN READING DESPATCHES AND OTHER IMPORTANT PAPERS.

It was the custom of General Washington to read with great care all despatches and other important papers, which contained information that should influence his opinions or conduct. In many cases he read with a pen in his hand, and made brief summaries of such papers, or extracts from them, bringing out the prominent parts, and arranging them methodically, so that they might be the more deeply impressed on his mind. This was his habit, not only in public affairs, but in his private transactions, in the management of his farms, and every kind of business.

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He thus gained two essential objects, a thorough knowledge of the grounds upon which he was to decide or act, and time to deliberate maturely upon every weighty point. To this habit may be ascribed, in no small degree, the accurate views he took of the facts brought under his notice, and the sound judgment with which he invariably adopted and pursued his measures. He never decided precipitately, nor took a step till he was fully convinced that it was the best that could be taken.

After his inauguration as President, he commenced reading the official papers in the offices of the several departments, taking them up at the signing of the treaty of peace. He read the whole of them, making an abstract as he went along. In this way he became well acquainted with the proceedings of the government during that period. The reports of the heads of the departments he examined in the same manner; particularly the elaborate report of the Treasury Board, drawn up by his direction, abounding in tables and columns of figures. This report he abridged, and apparently studied it in its minutest details.

During the presidency he adhered to the same method. Although he saw every important despatch before it was sent off, yet from time to time he perused the correspondence of the secretaries preserved in the archives of the offices, and drew out abstracts of their principal contents, many of which are still retained among his papers. The following is a specimen.

PURPORT OF LETTERS, WHICH HAVE BEEN WRITTEN TO MR. MONROE SINCE HIS MISSION TO FRANCE.

"*July* 14*th*, 1794. — Mr. Samuel Brown, a merchant of Virginia, has a demand of importance to himself and others, which appears just. Aid him as far as is proper in obtaining it.

"*July* 30*th*, 1794. — M. Fauchet has been applied to for the adjustment of the fifteen thousand dollars, voted by Congress for the relief of the St. Domingo people. Answer not received. May be expected, as he disliked Congress' granting money on French account. We have heard with regret, that several of our citizens have been thrown into prison in France, from a suspicion of criminal attempts against the government. If they are guilty, we are extremely sorry for it; if innocent, we must protect them. Collect intelligence and act promptly and decisively. Let your path, however, be clear. Archibald Hunter and Shubael Allen are two of the sufferers.

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"Mr. Macarty, our consul at the Isle of France, whose letter is enclosed, relates serious matters, which require to be rectified. Attempt this without delay. Mr. B. Carnes had no right to appoint one Binard, of Brest, vice-consul there; but it ought to be examined into, as he complains. If a consul is necessary there, say so. Mr. G. Morris having recommended Francis Coffyn to be consul at Dunkirk, a temporary commission is sent to him. Inquire into the circumstances of his confinement before he is employed.

"He will communicate the steps he has taken relative to our prisoners in Algiers, and towards making a peace with that regency. Lest he should not, a copy of his letter is sent. Inquire what he has done, and thank the proper authority for this instance of its attachment to our interests. Colonel Humphreys long ago has been specially appointed to this business, and has a full knowledge of our views and means. The terms may be mentioned to the French government, but well weighed first.

"The cases of spoliation by French cruisers on our commerce are again earnestly recommended to his anxious attention. M. Fauchet has promised to forward a recommendation of them to his government. Press the principle without delay. Put the facts into a train for decision. Surely the French will not suffer our vessels to be plundered by their citizens. The papers sent show how much this has been the case. We are no less disturbed at the conduct concerning the embargo at Bordeaux. If the accounts of a captain from thence be true, the promise of compensation is illusory. You are therefore to press the rights of our citizens in this business, in a manner to show that we cannot submit to injustice. In short, you are to inquire into every inconvenience, and to remonstrate strongly. The case of the ship *Laurens*, of Charleston, should be closely attended to. From Mr. Morris, or the French archives, the circumstances may be known. The decrees tending to the condemnation of this vessel are gross violations of our rights; and you are at liberty to speak in a decisive tone, taking care to avoid offence, or to weaken the friendship between the two countries.

"*September 25th*, 1794. — Relative to the case of spoliations, and the embargo at Bordeaux. Discontents occasioned thereby. Case of the ship *Laurens* particularly referred to. Also the ship *Fame*. A detailed account of the western insurrection. Measures taken to suppress it. The effect of commissioners, who were sent among them, and the general sense of the people, reprobating

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the conduct of the insurgents. Anxious to hear from him. M. Le Blanc is the bearer of oral communications, which M. Fauchet would not commit to writing; must therefore be important. Fauchet supposes there is British influence prevailing in some members of the government; he has the means to confront this. Mr. Jay restricted; does not expect compensation for spoliations, nor the surrender of the posts. The French Republic to be kept in good humor. Spain, by a similar conduct to that of Great Britain, has imposed the necessity of sending an envoy extraordinary to her. They coöperate; cordial in their hatred, and agreed to employ the Indians against us.

"*November 17th*, 1794. — Under great anxiety for intelligence from France. Robespierre's fall; cause and consequence. France seizes our vessels if insured in England. If true, proves irritation in her, and must give great discontent here. Hope he has been heard in a remonstrance upon them. His speech to the National Assembly has been the subject of some criticism. Admonishes him of some dissatisfactions, which probably will be inculcated by M. Fauchet, for not returning the salute of the *Semeillante* at New York. Explains the matter, and M. Fauchet's unreasonableness.

"*December 2d*, 1794. — Received his letter of the 15th of September last, the only official notice of his having entered upon the duties of his office. Duvernet superseded. Pitcairn appointed consul in his place at Paris. His speech to the National Convention disapproved on account of the place where it was delivered, in the National Hall; the publicity of some expressions which were contained therein, as coming from the representative of a neutral power, being liable to give offence to the enemies of France, particularly Great Britain, with whom we were then negotiating, and who it was known had suspicions of our attachments to France to their prejudice. He is still to cultivate the good will of the French government, these remarks having no other object than to recommend caution.

"Remark upon his saying he was not instructed to desire a repeal of the decree, which violated the twenty-third and twenty-fourth articles of the treaty of commerce, lest the demand for rescinding it might produce a call for the guarantee, and even upon his giving up the point. This he was not warranted by his instructions to do; nor had the representations on this head produced such an effect, for their policy did not require the measure, as we should have been less serviceable to them in that case, as

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has often been expressed by M. Fauchet; and, besides, he might have repelled any serious allusion to the guarantee by saying, as his instructions indicate, that he was directed to send that subject on this side of the water. He is therefore desired, if the letter of the 30th of July has not already stimulated him to do it, to remonstrate against that decree without delay, but without departing from a conciliatory mode. Many of M. Fauchet's discontents are removed. The documents concerning the failure of the salute and supposed insult are transmitted. Colonel Anderson's papers are sent, and a fresh collection of spoliation papers also.

"*December 5th*, 1794. — Since the 30th ultimo had received his letters of August 15th and 25th, which are acceptable on account of the earnest of the intelligence. Sensible of the friendship of the French Republic. Cultivate it with zeal. Remove every suspicion of our preferring a connexion with Great Britain, or weakening our attachment to France. The caution given in the last was an evidence of our wish to preserve neutrality.

"*February 13th*, 1795. — The last date of a letter received from him is the 15th of September, 1794, and it has been acknowledged by duplicates. Anxiety on the issue of many points. Rescinding the stipulation making goods free, which are found in free ships, has considerably increased it. Concerned at the recall of M. Fauchet from the change in France. Their ministers here should lay aside all intrigue. Suppose he has done all he can to strengthen the friendship between the two nations. Every thing on our part is done for this purpose; proof, M. Fauchet, by a legislative act, is enabled to anticipate the instalments of the French debt. The minister here, and the French nation, may have been urged to believe that the treaty with Great Britain interferes with our engagements to France. It is not come to hand; but the instructions to Mr. Jay forbid this. Surrender of the posts, spoliations on our commerce, and British debts are the principal heads, in which France can have no concern. Commerce may also be regulated, which you may mention. France will enjoy all the advantages of the most favored nation, and we have been long ready to discuss and settle new commercial arrangements with France, but none have been proposed. The conduct of Spain towards us is unaccountable and injurious. Mr. Pinckney, it is supposed, is gone thither. He is to seize any favorable moment to execute what has been intrusted to him concerning the Mississippi. Colonel Humphreys, being disappointed in the loan, is here; will return full-handed to negotiate peace and redeem our captives; the aid of France is hoped for.

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"*March 8th*, 1795. — Approve his attentions to our commerce; the merchants think them judicious. Mr. Skipwith's appointment and his report well received. General instructions will be sent to the consul to obey his (Monroe's) directions. Passports will be governed by strict rules. His account of Jacobin societies appropriate to our own. Extract of it will be published. Last night the treaty with Great Britain arrived. It will remain undivulged till the meeting of the Senate on the 8th of June. M. Fauchet is uneasy, but upon what ground is not known. Posts, spoliations, cannot require war instead of negotiation, and, if it did, we are the judges. Our trade also to be regulated by any treaty that does not derogate from the right of other nations. Nothing of this is perceived, in a cursory reading of the present one, and you know Mr. Jay was instructed not to weaken our engagements with France. Not to judge, from what has been said, that the treaty will or will not be ratified.

"Ideas with respect to Denmark and Sweden, though always attended to, grow of less importance. Wait to hear further from him respecting *a certain concert*. The step is viewed here as a very strong one. Conduct with respect to M. Gardoqui, Mr. Paine, and the lady of our friend, is approved. Colonel Humphreys is here arranging the affairs of Algiers. Bring to the earliest issue the points, which have been pressed, particularly the fifteen thousand dollars. The next letter will be devoted to the passages respecting Spain and Great Britain. Papers of Mr. Vincent submitted. Mr. King's, relative to the ship *Andrew*, a part of the business already in his hands. Letter from Mr. Fitzsimons is consigned to particular attention.

"*April 7th*, 1795. — Will take a review of our relation to France. Firmly impressed, that we have behaved to her fairly and honorably. The treaty with Great Britain not chargeable with being one of offence or defence. The obligation of all prior treaties is *expressly* saved. France, being the most favored nation, shares in all privileges granted to another. Nothing sinister in keeping the treaty secret till ratified. Anxious to learn the issue of the *concert*, which is still (notwithstanding the rapid progress of the arms of our ally) considered a *strong measure*. We steadily adhere to the policy of neutrality under all changes, and to be entirely independent as far as *possible* of every nation upon earth. France at this day in the eye of the President is, as she always has been, cordially embraced. Cases of spoliations, according to a subjoined list, are sent, to which his zeal and atten-

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tion are required. A more copious letter will follow this upon our affairs in France."

The following paper is curious, both as showing the habits of Washington, and for the nature of its contents. In the first stages of the new government, it was a matter of grave debate in the Senate, whether it was expedient to appoint ministers to reside abroad. The question, as to the respective powers of the President and the Senate, in regard to this subject, was likewise discussed. As the Senate sat with closed doors, their proceedings were not made public. The paper presented below, being a sketch of a debate in the Senate, December 30th, 1791, is found in Washington's handwriting. It is probably an abstract from a more extended account of the debates, taken down by some one of the senators.

ON THE AGENCY THE SENATE OUGHT TO HAVE IN JUDGING OF THE EXPEDIENCY OF SENDING MINISTERS ABROAD.

"Motion, 'That in the opinion of the Senate it will not be for the interest of the United States to appoint ministers plenipotentiary to reside permanently at foreign courts.'

"MR. HAWKINS. — Doubts the President's right to decide on the measure without the previous advice of the Senate. Sees embarrassments in negativing the character, as a means of defeating the measure; or inconsistency in their conduct, to approve the nomination, and withhold the supplies when the matter comes before them in their legislative capacity.

"MR. IZARD. — Thinks it improper to give a vote upon such an abstract proposition. Let the question be, Is it necessary *now* to appoint ministers to any foreign courts?

"MR. ELLSWORTH. — Thinks great caution ought to be observed. The President and Senate are to decide upon the propriety of diplomatic establishments. The President should be consulted. He has an equal right to judge with the Senate. Doubts they are proceeding too fast. Suppose the Senate to determine it is inexpedient to enter into any treaty with a particular power, what is the President to do? Must he be exclusively bound? Mr. Gouverneur Morris's letters give information, if the Senate want that. Withholding the western posts and property, and the act appropriating forty thousand dollars, are evidences of the ground of the President's proceeding.

"MR. FEW. — Thinks they may agree to the resolution to-day, and appoint a minister to-morrow with the President. They may consult with the President. He knows, that, when he thinks proper,

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there will always be a seat for him here. If the resolution is not agreed to, how can the Senate express their sense of the measure, which he dislikes, or let the President know the sense of the Senate thereupon? Dislikes the principle, though he thinks, that, with respect to Great Britain, there may be an occasion for a minister at that court; but it is not of sufficient weight to induce the Senate to act upon the nominations without its previous advice with respect to the measure.

"MR. L. — Let the Senate express their wish to the President to confer with him.

"MR. STRONG. — The nominations go to a permanent establishment. Where is the necessity of these in France or Holland? The provision made by law is a temporary one by way of outfit. Out of delicacy, then, determine the question lest it be understood we object to the men in nomination.

"MR. ELLSWORTH. — If you want information, ask it of the President. I think we are in possession of enough.

"MR. L. — The gentleman last up goes to the men, and not to the measure. When a nomination is made, we must not ask for what, and for how long; a permanency is evidently in contemplation. We are told a British minister is here to treat with us. If this is his business, we can do it better here than there. His pride may be hurt, but, if they are serious, their pride will not be operated upon by etiquette instead of interest. When he is convinced, that sending a minister will give facility to measures, he will consent thereto. But let us clear the way as we go, and inform the President that we are opposed to a permanent diplomatic corps in Europe; yet that, when the necessity of sending ministers there is apparent, we are ready to advise and consent thereto, on extraordinary occasions.

"MR. IZARD. — At a loss to know what is meant by ministers on extra occasions in Europe. These are usually for congratulations on births, marriages, &c. If the gentleman from Connecticut is right, that the decision will be against the men, and not the measure, is the gentleman from Virginia sure, that when this goes out of doors it will not be adjudged as against the men and not the measure. The feelings of the President will be wounded. We have had correspondence laid before us, which serves as the basis of this business. He does not think, as some do, that we ought to be unacquainted with the affairs of Europe, particularly France and England. I should vote against a permanent establishment, yet I am for sending at the discretion of the executive. I am ver" desirous of being on a friendly footing with France,

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Spain, and England. Having a minister in France obtained us much good. In England our seamen were impressed, and were dependent on private persons, who might not have been heard. You have heretofore had a conference by means of a committee with a man known and respected for his knowledge, whose opinion was, that you should have a minister in France and England, and inferior characters elsewhere. Can we suppose the President would do any thing without mature deliberation? The outfit provided was to accommodate gentlemen in the first instance, who might not be rich.

"MR. LANGDON. — I am satisfied that the President would not do any thing without mature deliberation. I am for appointing the ministers.

"MR. L. — I would not for the accidental probability of a war in Europe keep ministers there to take care of our seamen. Is it supposable the President will do any thing without mature deliberation? We must use our discretion, having constitutionally a right to do so. The gentleman from South Carolina says, in pursuing his train of reasoning, that you must be permanent in your establishment. The question is asked; Will the people abroad be convinced, that it is not against the men, but the measure? When men go deep and far in pursuit of reasons, I cannot say what they will do.

"MR. SHERMAN. — Is for postponing the nomination, and taking the opinion of the Senate on the proposition on the table. What will be the consequence of a concurrence in the appointment without limitation? Is it proper or expedient to appoint in this manner? The former Congress gave a commission with limitation; so it should be now. It is said the President's feelings will be hurt. I think not. What I want to have brought about is, that the President, if he thinks proper, may have it in his power to assign reasons for the permanent appointments. We can now consider whether it is expedient to make these permanent appointments. I think, without a particular object, they are not necessary. We may within these walls, without the interposition of the President personally, obtain the necessary information.

"MR. K. — It is an embarrassed question, and to simplify it, I am for postponing, that we may without being embarrassed discuss the question; in which case the result may be got at without difficulty.

"MR. ELLSWORTH. — I am with my colleague in opinion, that we should answer the questions of the President and no other.

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Is it now proper to send a minister? Ay or nay. As to the appointment being perpetual, I differ with him. Men cannot be sent abroad, and supported there, without money, that cannot be had but by the concurrence of the Senate.

"MR. K. — Wanted to have the question so regulated, that a correct judgment might be formed.

"MR. B. — Is surprised that the gentleman from Connecticut will insist on a vote affecting men, when we mean it to affect the measure only.

"MR. F. — Would not vote for postponing, but as he is impressed with the necessity, he is struck decidedly, that agreeing to the nominations establishes a permanent diplomatic corps in Europe. Now is the time to resist it. If we do not, he shall despair of ever doing it. He is of the same opinion with the gentleman from South Carolina, as to the feelings of the President, and would not hurt them for the world. But must he be a traitor to his own feelings? He thinks the measure not for the interest of the country, and, with due deference for the opinion of the President, thinks he ought to have kept the two questions separate, and informed the Senate, that there did now exist reasons for sending ministers to Europe. Thinks there may be occasions to require ministers in Europe, but not permanently; or, if so, the reasons must be previously given to obtain his consent.

"MR. ELLSWORTH. — This measure is not without a precedent. The nomination to Portugal is in point.

"MR. STRONG. — The minister to Portugal is resident, a grade in pay as a *Chargé d'Affaires*. This discussion would have been better timed then. The sole question is, Shall we postpone the nomination to take up an abstract question? He is for doing it, because he is of opinion that the President should have an opportunity of assigning his reasons. We did not involve ourselves. The President involved us. The measure ought to have been previously discussed, before the nominations were made.

"MR. K. — Some ideas occur to him of the impropriety of this measure, as the greatest harmony should subsist between the President and the Senate, in the joint executive power. The constitution contemplates this establishment. The inference is clear, that any regulation respecting an abridgment of its extension is improper. Every part of the proposition, which fixes the contract in the first instance, is inadmissible. Any inquiry in an individual case, when full information is not obtained, is proper. Suppose this negative proposition now to pass, it is in its nature void; to-morrow we can determine differently. If the constitution has

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vested in the President the right of nominating to offices, he has a right to exercise it as to him appears best.

"The motion by agreement amended, as follows; 'Resolved, that the Senate do not possess evidence sufficient to convince them, that it will be for the interest of the United States to appoint ministers plenipotentiary to reside permanently at foreign courts.'

"MR. B. — I have submitted to the amendment, but doubt its attaining the object. Whether this species of arrangement can obtain the necessary information is doubtful. We can establish such, as is suited to our government. It is wrong in us to entail on our government an unnecessary expense. This will not banish intercourse between us and foreign nations. We should not inconsiderately involve ourselves. This is the time to determine whether we should send ministers for special occasions, or to reside permanently.

"MR. STRONG. — This motion will convey this idea, that it is not necessary to have ministers fixed permanently, yet that occasions may arise when it may be necessary to send them. I have not information enough to guide me. I want that information. How am I to get it? The President at an early period suggested to us the propriety, in difficulties such as the present, of applying to him for information.

"MR. IZARD. — I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts. He has said and justly, that the President has warranted us in making these inquiries. We have some important information. The letters last session from the President and Gouverneur Morris, respecting the transactions at the court of London, convey such. If it is the opinion of the Senate, that they have not the necessary information, let the motion be committed.

"After further debate, the nomination and the two propositions were committed to a committee of five."

We may add, that in reading books Washington adopted the same practice of making abstracts, or abridgments, wherever the subject interested him, referring with minute accuracy to the volume and the page. Several specimens of this sort remain. Treatises on agriculture absorbed much of his attention, and sometimes he transcribed whole chapters. Du Pratz's *History of Louisiana* was subjected to a rigid process in this way, when the navigation of the Mississippi agitated the public mind. He began a copious analysis of the Abbé Raynal's *History of the Indies*, but whether he ever went beyond the first volume is uncertain.

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No. V. p. 26.

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMITTEE FROM THE SENATE, APPOINTED TO CONFER WITH HIM ON THE MODE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE SENATE RESPECTING TREATIES AND NOMINATIONS.

August 8th, 1789.

In all matters respecting *Treaties*, oral communications seem indispensably necessary; because in these a variety of matters are contained, all of which not only require consideration, but some of them may undergo much discussion; to do which by written communications would be tedious without being satisfactory.

Oral communications may be proper, also, for discussing the propriety of sending representatives to foreign courts, and ascertaining the grade, or character, in which they are to appear, and may be so in other cases.

But it may be asked *where* are these oral communications to be made? If in the Senate-chamber, how are the President and Vice-President to be arranged? the latter by the constitution being *ex-officio* President of the Senate. Would the Vice-President be disposed to give up the chair? If not, ought the President of the United States to be placed in an awkward situation when there? These are matters, which require previous consideration and adjustment for meetings in the Senate-chamber or elsewhere.

With respect to *nominations*, my present ideas are, that, as they point to a single object, unconnected in its nature with any other object, they had best be made by written messages. In this case the acts of the President and the acts of the Senate will stand upon clear, distinct, and responsible ground.

Independently of this consideration it could be no pleasing thing, I conceive, for the President, on the one hand, to be present and hear the propriety of his nominations questioned, nor for the Senate, on the other hand, to be under the smallest restraint from his presence from the fullest and freest inquiry into the character of the person nominated. The President, in a situation like this, would be reduced to one of two things; either to be a silent witness of the decision by ballot, if there are objections to the nomination, or in justification thereof (if he should think it right) to support it by argument; neither of which might be agreeable, and

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the latter improper; for, as the President has a right to nominate without assigning his reasons, so has the Senate a right to dissent without giving theirs.

SENTIMENTS DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT AT A SECOND CONFERENCE WITH THE COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE, AUGUST 10, 1789.

The President has the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties and to appoint officers.

The Senate, when this power is exercised, is evidently a council only to the President, however its concurrence may be to his acts. It seems incident to this relation between them, that not only the *time*, but the *place* and *manner* of consultation, should be with the President. It is probable, that the place may vary. The indisposition or inclination of the President may require, that the Senate should be summoned to the President's house. Whenever the government shall have buildings of its own, an executive chamber will no doubt be provided, where the Senate will generally attend the President. It is not impossible, that the place may be made to depend in some degree on the nature of the business. In the appointment to offices, the agency of the Senate is purely executive, and they may be summoned to the President. In treaties, the agency is perhaps as much of a legislative nature, and the business may possibly be referred to their deliberations in their legislative chamber. The occasion for this distinction will be lessened if not destroyed, when a chamber shall be appropriated for the joint business of the President and Senate.

The *manner* of consultation may also vary. The indisposition of the President may supersede the mere question of conveniency. The inclination or ideas of different Presidents may be different. The opinions, both of President and Senators, as to the proper manner, may be changed by experience. In some kinds of business it may be found best for the President to make his propositions orally and in person, in others by a written message. On some occasions it may be most convenient, that the President should attend the deliberations and decisions on his propositions; on others that he should not; or that he should not attend the whole of the time. In other cases, again, as in treaties of a complicated nature, it may happen, that he will send his propositions, in writing, and consult the Senate in person after time shall have been allowed for consideration. Many other varieties may be suggested as to the *mode* by practice.

If these remarks be just, it would seem not amiss, that the

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Senate should accommodate their rules to the uncertainty of the particular mode and place, that may be preferred, providing for the reception of either oral or written propositions, and for giving their consent and advice in either the *presence* or *absence* of the President, leaving him free to use the mode and place, that may be found most eligible and accordant with other business, which may be before him at the time.

"*In Senate, August 21st*, 1789.

"The committee appointed to wait on the President of the United States, and confer with him on the mode of communication proper to be pursued between him and the Senate in the formation of treaties, and making appointments to offices, reported; which report was agreed to as follows.

"Resolved, That when nominations shall be made in writing by the President of the United States to the Senate, a future day shall be assigned, unless the Senate shall direct otherwise, for taking them into consideration; that when the President of the United States shall meet the Senate in the Senate-chamber, the President of the Senate shall have a chair on the floor, be considered as at the head of the Senate, and his chair shall be assigned to the President of the United States; that, when the Senate shall be convened by the President of the United States at any other place, the President of the Senate and Senators shall attend at the place appointed. The secretary of the Senate shall also attend to take the minutes of the Senate; that all questions shall be put by the President of the Senate, either in the presence or absence of the President of the United States, and the Senators shall signify their assent or dissent by answering *vivâ voce* AY or No."

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No. VI. pp. 39, 67.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND, GIVING REASONS WHY THAT STATE DID NOT ACCEDE TO THE UNION.

State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. In General Assembly, September Session, 1789.

To the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the eleven United States of America in Congress assembled.

The critical situation, in which the people of this State are placed, engages us to make these assurances on their behalf, of their attachment and friendship to their sister States, and of their disposition to cultivate mutual harmony and friendly intercourse. They know themselves to be a handful comparatively viewed; and, although they now stand as it were alone, they have not separated themselves or departed from the principles of that confederation, which was formed by the sister States in their struggle for freedom, and in the hour of danger. They seek by this memorial to call to your remembrance the hazards which we have run, the hardships we have endured, the treasure we have spent, and the blood we have lost together in one common cause, and especially the object we had in view, the preservation of our liberty, wherein, ability considered, they may truly say they were equal in exertions to the foremost; the effects whereof, in great embarrassments, and other distresses consequent thereon we have since experienced with severity, which common sufferings and common danger we hope and trust yet form a bond of union and friendship not easily broken.

Our not having acceded to or adopted the new system of government, formed and adopted by most of our sister States, we doubt not has given uneasiness to them. That we have not seen our way clear to do it, consistently with our ideas of the principles upon which we all embarked together, has also given pain to us. We have not doubted but we might thereby avoid present difficulties, but we have apprehended future mischief.

The people of this State, from its first settlement, have been accustomed and strongly attached to a democratical form of government. They have viewed in the new constitution an approach, though perhaps but small, towards that form of government with

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which we have lately dissolved our connexion, at so much hazard and expense of life and treasure. They have seen with pleasure the administration thereof, from the most important trust downwards, committed to those, who have highly merited, and in whom the people of the United States place, unbounded confidence. Yet even in this circumstance, in itself so fortunate, they have apprehended danger by way of precedent. Can it be thought strange, then, that with these impressions they should wait to see the proposed system organized and in operation; to see what further checks and securities would be agreed to and established by way of amendments, before they could adopt it as a constitution of government for themselves and posterity?

These amendments we believe have already afforded some relief and satisfaction to the minds of the people of this State. And we earnestly look for the time, when they may with clearness and safety be again united with their sister States, under a constitution and form of government so well poised, as neither to need alteration, nor be liable thereto by a majority only of nine States out of thirteen, a circumstance which may possibly take place against the sense of a majority of the people of the United States.

We are sensible of the extremes to which democratical government is sometimes liable, something of which we have lately experienced; but we esteem them temporary and partial evils, compared with the loss of liberty and the rights of a free people. Neither do we apprehend they will be marked with severity by our sister States, when it is considered, that during the late troubles the whole United States, notwithstanding their joint wisdom and efforts, fell into the like misfortune; that, from our extraordinary exertions, this State was left in a situation nearly as embarrassing as that during the war; that, in the measures which were adopted, government unfortunately had not that aid and support from the moneyed interest, which our sister States of New York and the Carolinas experienced under similar circumstances; and especially when it is considered, that, upon some abatement of that fermentation in the minds of the people, which is so common to the collision of sentiments and of parties, a disposition appears to provide a remedy for the difficulties we have labored under on that account.

We are induced to hope, that we shall not be altogether considered as foreigners, having no particular affinity or connexion with the United States; but that trade and commerce, upon which the prosperity of this State much depends, will be preserved as

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free and open between this and the United States, as our different situations at present can possibly admit; earnestly desiring and proposing to adopt such commercial regulations on our part, as shall not tend to defeat the collection of the revenue of the United States, but rather to act in conformity to, or coöperate therewith, and desiring also to give the strongest assurances, that we shall, during our present situation, use our utmost endeavours to be in preparation from time to time to answer our proportion of such part of the interest or principal of the foreign and domestic debt, as the United States shall judge expedient to pay and discharge.

We feel ourselves attached, by the strongest ties of friendship, of kindred, and of interest, to our sister States; and we cannot, without the greatest reluctance, look to any other quarter for those advantages of commercial intercourse, which we conceive to be more natural and reciprocal between them and us.

I am, at the request and in behalf of the General Assembly, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN COLLINS.

No. VII. p. 48.

WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO BOSTON, ON HIS TOUR THROUGH THE EASTERN STATES.

When Washington made his tour through the Eastern States, during the first year of the presidency, John Hancock was governor of Massachusetts, and resided in Boston. After he had entered the State, he received the following letter from the Governor.

GOVERNOR HANCOCK TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"Boston, 21 October, 1789.

"SIR,

"Having received information, that you intended to honor this State with a visit, and wishing personally to show you every mark of attention, which the most sincere friendship can induce, I beg the favor of your making my house the place of your residence while you shall remain in Boston. I could wish, that the accommodations were better suited to a gentleman of your respectability, but you may be assured, that nothing on my part shall be wanting to render them as agreeable as possible.

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"As governor of the commonwealth I feel it to be my duty to receive your visit with such tokens of respect, as may answer the expectations of my constituents, and may in some measure express the high sentiments of respect they feel towards you. I have therefore issued orders for proper escorts to attend you, and Colonel Hall, deputy adjutant-general, will wait upon you at Worcester, and will inform you of the disposition I have made of the troops at Cambridge, under the command of General Brooks, and request, that you would be so obliging as to pass that way to the town, where you will receive such other tokens of respect from the people, as will serve further to evince how gratefully they recollect your exertions for their liberties, and their confidence in you as President of the United States of America. The gentlemen of the Council will receive you at Cambridge, and attend you to town.

"I should be obliged to you, on the return of this express, to let me know when you propose to be in Boston, and, as near as you can, the time of the day.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, &c

"JOHN HANCOCK."

The answer to this letter is contained in the text, dated Brookfield, October 22d. In reply the Governor wrote as follows.

GOVERNOR HANCOCK TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"Boston, 23 October, 1789.

"SIR,

"Your letter by the return express I had the honor to receive at three o'clock this morning. It would have given me pleasure, had a residence at my house met with your approbation.

"I observe you had proposed taking an early dinner at Watertown, and proceeding to Cambridge, and from thence to Boston on Saturday afternoon. I beg leave, if it should not interfere with your determination, or prove inconvenient, to request, that you would so far vary your former intention as to arrive in Boston by one o'clock. In case this request should meet your approbation, I beg the favor that you, with the gentlemen of your suite, would honor me with your company at dinner on Saturday, *en famille*, at any hour that the circumstances of the day will admit. I shall esteem it an honor if you will favor me with a few lines by the return express, with your determination on the subject. I have the honor to be, &c.

"JOHN HANCOCK."

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In the answer of the same date, contained in the text, it will be seen that the President acceded to the Governor's wishes. He arrived in Cambridge at the time appointed, and thence passed through Roxbury to the *Neck*, across which he was to enter Boston. Here certain embarrassments occurred, the causes and particulars of which are well narrated in a communication from Mr. Benjamin Russell, which he has obligingly made at my request.

"Boston, 22 May, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your note of yesterday, requesting some account of the difference of opinion between Governor Hancock and President Washington on a point of *etiquette* during the visit of the President to Boston in 1789, is before me. As I happened to be a member of the committee of arrangements, I am able to furnish some reminiscences of the events of the time; but fear very much, that I shall be compelled to trouble you with a long letter. Age has, however, the privilege of being garrulous.

"When it was known, that the illustrious Washington intended to honor Boston with a visit, a town meeting was forthwith convened, and a committee (consisting of the selectmen and twelve other citizens) was chosen to make arrangements. At the same time Governor Hancock made other arrangements. Unfortunately no consultation took place between the parties. Both appeared to be desirous to pay the highest honors to the expected guest; but both seemed resolved to manage their own affairs in their own way. Collisions were therefore to be expected. The Governor sent his aid-major, and the committee despatched a deputation to meet the President on the road; the former to invite him to make the Hancock mansion his quarters, and the latter to acquaint him that the citizens of Boston had provided a suitable establishment for his accommodation, and to request his acceptance of their hospitality. Both envoys rode express. The municipal deputation executed their commission first, and the President accepted their invitation. What answer he returned to the Governor is unknown to me. Events, however, shortly proved, that the Governor was dissatisfied with the result, and the committee anticipated that obstructions would be thrown in the way of the execution of their arrangements. The anticipation was realized.

"It was a part of the town arrangement, that all the pupils of the schools should appear in the procession, to do homage to the Father of their country. This interesting display was in the course of execution with promising effect, when an executive order was

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issued, commanding the sheriffs and their deputies from the several counties, all *on horseback*, to appear in the grand procession as an escort. Much alarm and not a little indignation were expressed at this strange order, particularly by the parents of the children, who naturally anticipated danger from the interposition of this rustic cavalry among them. The committee remonstrated strongly against the order, and the Governor countermanded it. This did not of course serve to remove the dissatisfaction of the Commander-in-chief.

"Another difficulty occurred prior to that of which you have desired some explanation. The Governor, as chief of the State, claimed the right of receiving and welcoming *in person* the expected guest, on his arrival at the boundary of the capital. To this right the committee promptly demurred, and numerous communications passed between the parties. The committee on their part contended, that, as the President was then about to enter into the *town*, it was the delegated right of the *municipal authorities* of the town to receive and bid him welcome; that in their opinion it was the right and duty of the Governor to have met the guest at the boundary of the *State* over which he presided, and there to have received him, and bid him welcome to the hospitalities of the commonwealth. It was not, they added, their concern, that this right had not been exercised, or the duty performed at the proper place.

"The President was approaching the town, and they were ready to render civic honors to him. The controversy was without result. Both authorities remained in their carriages, while the aids and marshals were rapidly posting between them. Both contended that the point of etiquette was on their side. The day was unusually cold and murky. The President with his secretary had been mounted for a considerable time on the *Neck*, waiting to enter the town. He made inquiry of the cause of the delay, and, on receiving information of the *important* difficulty, is said to have expressed impatience. Turning to Major Jackson, his secretary, he asked, 'Is there no other avenue to the town?' And he was in the act of turning his charger, when he was informed, that the controversy was over, and that he would be received by the municipal authorities. The arrangements of the town were then promptly executed, and the President was conducted amidst the acclamations of his fellow-citizens to the quarters in Court Street provided for him by the town. The altercation on the isthmus created great excitement, which was increased by a severe epidemic,

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with which several thousands were affected in consequence of their exposure to the inclemency of the weather.

"Thus ended a very disagreeable controversy; and the committee of the town, who had the care of giving publicity to the proceedings, satisfied with the triumph of their principles, thought it their duty to exclude from their account of them in the public papers many of the above facts. This will account for the omission you mention. But, as far as my memory serves me, you may rely on the facts stated.

"I have written in haste. Excuse errors, and believe me to be, with respect, &c.

"BENJAMIN RUSSELL."

The actual cause of the difficulty is understood to have been an impression on the part of Governor Hancock, that, as governor of a State, and within the bounds of that State, the point of etiquette made it proper that he should receive the first visit, even from the President of the United States. On this ground, and as the governor did not come out to meet the President, the latter avoided going to his house, and consequently did not dine with him that day as he had agreed to do. The friends of the Governor held a consultation on the matter the same evening, and in compliance with their advice he concluded to wave the point of etiquette, as will appear by a note written to the President the next day.

GOVERNOR HANCOCK TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"Sunday, 26 October, half past twelve o'clock.

"The Governor's best respects to the President. If at home, and at leisure, the Governor will do himself the honor to pay his respects in half an hour. This would have been done much sooner, had his health in any degree permitted. He now hazards every thing, as it respects his health, for the desirable purpose."

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

"Sunday, 26 October, one o'clock.

"The President of the United States presents his best respects to the Governor, and has the honor to inform him, that he shall be at home till two o'clock.

"The President needs not express the pleasure it will give him to see the Governor; but, at the same time, he most earnestly begs that the Governor will not hazard his health on the occasion."

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Here the difficulties ended; and, during the remainder of the President's stay in Boston, the usual intercourse and civilities took place between him and the Governor.

No. VIII. p. 116.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM MAJOR BECKWITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.*

MEMORANDUM OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND MAJOR BECKWITH.

July 22, 1790.

In my second interview with Major Beckwith, which was on Thursday, the 22d instant, I spoke to him nearly as follows.

"I have made the proper use of what you said to me at our last interview. As to what regards the objects of a general nature mentioned by you, though your authority for the purpose from Lord Dorchester is out of question, and though I presume, from his Lordship's station and character, and the knowledge he appears to have of what is passing on the other side of the water with regard to Mr. Morris, that the step he has taken through you is conformable to the views of your cabinet, and not without its sanction; yet you are no doubt sensible, that the business presents itself in a shape, which does not give the proper authenticity to that fact, and is wholly without formality. You must also be sensible, that there is a material difference between your situation and that of Mr. Morris. His credentials, though not formal, proceed from the proper source. Yours are neither formal nor authoritative. This state of things will of course operate in what I am going to say on the subject.

"As to what relates to friendship between Great Britain and the United States, I conceive myself warranted in declaring, that there is in this country a sincere disposition to concur in obviating, with candor and fairness, all ground of misunderstanding which

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* Major Beckwith was an unofficial British agent, sent by Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada. The precise objects of his mission do not seem to have been well ascertained. No account of a previous interview is found. It may have been communicated verbally to the President.

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may now exist in reference to the execution of the late treaty of peace, and in laying the foundation of future good understanding by establishing liberal terms of commercial intercourse.

"As to alliance, this opens a wide field. The thing is susceptible of a vast variety of forms. It is not possible to judge what would be proper, or what could be done, unless points were brought into view. If you are in condition to mention particulars, it may afford better ground of conversation."

I stopped here for an answer. Major Beckwith replied, that he could say nothing more particular than he had already done.

"That being the case," continued I, "I can only say, that the thing is in too general a form to admit of a judgment of what may be eventually admissible or practicable. If the subject shall hereafter present itself to discussion in an authentic and proper shape, I have no doubt we shall be ready to converse freely upon it. And you will naturally conclude, that we shall be disposed to pursue whatever shall appear, under all circumstances, to be our interest, as far as may consist with our honor. At present I would not mean either to raise or repress expectation."

Major Beckwith seemed to admit, that, as things were circumstanced, nothing explicit could be expected, and went on to make some observations, which I understood as having for their object, to sound whether there existed any connexion between Spain and us, and whether the questions with regard to the Mississippi were settled. Perceiving this, I thought it better, in a matter which was no secret, to avoid an appearance of mystery, and to declare without hesitation, as I did, that there was no particular connexion between Spain and the United States within my knowledge, and that it was matter of public notoriety, that the questions alluded to were still unadjusted.

The rest of our conversation consisted chiefly of assurances on my part, that the menaces, which had been mentioned by him as having been thrown out by some individuals, with regard to the western posts, were unauthorized, proceeding probably from a degree of irritation, which the detention of the posts had produced in the minds of many; and of a repetition on his part of the assurances, which he had before given, of Lord Dorchester's disposition to discourage Indian outrages.

Something was said respecting the probable course of military operations in case of war between Britain and Spain, which Major Beckwith supposed would be directed towards South America, alleging, however, that this was mere conjecture on his part. I hinted cautiously our dislike of an enterprise upon New Orleans.

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

New York, 30 September, 1790.

SIR,

I had lately a visit from a *certain gentleman*,* the sole object of which was, to make some observations of a delicate nature concerning *another gentleman* † employed on a *particular errand;* which, as they were doubtless intended for your ear, and (such as they are) ought to be known to you, it is of course my duty to communicate.

He began (in a manner somewhat embarrassed, which betrayed rather more than he seemed to intend to discover,) by telling me, "that in *different companies* where he had happened to be *in this city* (a circumstance by the way very unlikely) he had heard it mentioned, that that *other gentleman* was upon terms of very great intimacy with the representative ‡ of a certain court, at the one where *he* was employed, and with the head § of the party opposed to the minister; and he proceeded to say, that if there were any symptoms of backwardness or coolness in the minister, it had occurred to him, that they might possibly be occasioned by such *an intimacy;* that he had no intimation, however, of this being the case, and that the idea suggested by him was mere matter of conjecture; that he did not even know it as a fact, that the intimacy subsisted. But if this should be the case," said he, "you will readily imagine, that it cannot be calculated to inspire confidence, or facilitate free communication. It would not be surprising, if a very close connexion with the representative of another power should beget doubts and reserves; or if a very familiar intercourse with the head of the opposition should occasion prejudice and distance. Man after all is but man; and though the minister has a great mind, and is as little likely as most men to entertain illiberal distrusts or jealousies, yet there is no saying what might

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* Major Beckwith.

† Gouverneur Morris, who was at this time employed on a mission in England. See the letters to him in the present volume, dated October 13th, 1789.

‡ The Marquis de la Luzerne, minister from France to the court of Great Britain.

§ Mr. Fox, with whom it was said Gouverneur Morris was on such terms of intimacy as to occasion unfavorable impressions in the British minister, with whom he was instructed to negotiate. This suspicion was communicated to Mr. Morris, and he fully cleared it up in a letter to President Washington. See *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. III. p. 27.

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be the effect of such conduct upon him. It is hardly possible not to have some diffidence of those, who seem to be very closely united with our political or personal enemies or rivals. At any rate, such an intimacy, if it exists, can do no good, may do some harm."

This, as far as I recollect, was the substance of what he said. My answer was nearly as follows.

"I have never heard a syllable, Sir, about the matter you mention. It appears to me, however, very possible, that an intimacy with both the persons you mention may exist; with the first, because the situation of the parties had naturally produced such an intimacy while both were in this country, and to have dropped and avoided it there would not have been without difficulty on the score of politeness, and would have worn an extraordinary and mysterious aspect; with the latter, from the patronage of American affairs, which is understood to have been uniformly the part of that gentleman, and in some degree from a similarity of dispositions and characters, both brilliant men, men of wit and genius, both fond of the pleasures of society. It is to be hoped, that appearances, which admit of so easy a solution, will not prove an obstacle to any thing which mutual interest dictates. It is impossible that there can be any thing wrong."

He replied, that "he certainly had no idea that there could be any thing wrong; but that, as trifles often mar great affairs, he thought it best to impart to me his conjecture, that such use might be made of it as should be thought advisable."

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and truest attachment, Sir, &c. ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

No. IX. p. 134.

LETTER FROM THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.*

Paris, 20 June, 1790.

MR. PRESIDENT,

The National Assembly has during three days worn mourning for Benjamin Franklin, your fellow-citizen, your friend, and one

* The translation of this letter seems unskilful and imperfect, but I have not been able to find the original.

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of the most useful of your coöperators in the establishment of American liberty. They charge me to communicate their resolution to the Congress of the United States. In consequence, I have the honor to address to you, Mr. President, the extract from the proceedings of their session of the 11th, which contains the deliberation.

The National Assembly have not been stopped in their decree by the consideration that Franklin was a stranger. Great men are the fathers of universal humanity; their loss ought to be felt, as a common misfortune, by all the tribes of the great human family; and it belongs without doubt to a nation still affected by all the sentiments, which accompany the achievement of their liberty, and which owes its enfranchisement essentially to the progress of the public reason, to be the first to give the example of the filial gratitude of the people towards their true benefactors. Besides that these ideas and this example are so proper to disseminate a happy emulation of patriotism, and thus to extend more and more the empire of reason and virtue, which could not fail promptly to determine a body, devoted to the most important legislative combinations, charged with assuring to the French the rights of men and citizens, it has believed, without doubt, that fruitful and great truths were likewise numbered among the rights of man.

The name of Benjamin Franklin will be immortal in the records of freedom and philosophy; but it is more particularly dear to a country, where, conducted by the most sublime mission, this venerable man knew how very soon to acquire an infinite number of friends and admirers, as well by the simplicity and sweetness of his manners, as by the purity of his principles, the extent of his knowledge, and the charms of his mind.

It will be remembered, that every success, which he obtained in his important negotiation, was applauded and celebrated (so to express it) all over France, as so many crowns conferred on genius and virtue.

Even then the sentiment of our rights existed in the bottom of our souls. It was easily perceived, that it feelingly mingled in the interest which we took in behalf of America, and in the public vows which we preferred for your liberty.

At last the hour of the French has arrived; we love to think, that the citizens of the United States have not regarded with indifference our steps towards liberty. Twenty-six millions of men breaking their chains, and seriously occupied in giving themselves

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a durable constitution, are not unworthy of the esteem of a generous people, who have preceded them in that noble career.

We hope they will learn with interest the funeral homage, which we have rendered to the Nestor of America. May this solemn act of fraternal friendship serve more and more to bind the tie, which ought to unite two free nations! May the common enjoyment of liberty shed itself over the whole globe, and become an indissoluble chain of connexion among all the people of the earth! For ought they not to perceive, that they will march more steadfastly and more certainly to their true happiness, in understanding and loving each other, than in being jealous and fighting?

May the Congress of the United States and the National Assembly of France be the first to furnish this fine spectacle to the world! And may the individuals of the two nations connect themselves by a mutual affection, worthy of the friendship which unites the two men, at this day most illustrious by their exertions for liberty, WASHINGTON and LAFAYETTE!

Permit me, Mr. President, to offer on this occasion my particular homage of esteem and admiration.

I have the honor to be, with respectful consideration, Mr. President, your most humble and most obedient servant,

SIEYES, *President.*

No. X. p. 186.

LETTER FROM JOHN JAY TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

New York, 23 September, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

My first idea was to have made a sketch of what in my opinion would be proper on the occasion; but finding, in the progress of it, that my information relative to the actual state of affairs was not sufficiently particular, and in several respects defective, it became necessary to confine myself to general remarks.

How far the present *fiscal* arrangements require amendments or additions, can best be ascertained of the secretary. I recollect one case which should be provided for, namely, where bribes are offered to revenue officers. It will rarely happen that the offer of a bribe can be proved, except by the man to whom it is offered;

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and, if he be disqualified (by being interested in the penalty) from giving testimony, the offender must be acquitted. Auxiliary provisions may, in the execution of other parts of these statutes, have been found wanting; this merits inquiry. If amendments are contemplated, it may be proper to observe, that, as all new institutions are liable to defects which experience only can discover, it may be useful to consider whether the revenue laws require any amendments to render them more competent to their objects.

Whether it is intended to bring forward any and what plans for additional supplies, I know not; if it is, some general ideas leading the attention that way might be expedient. If *not*, perhaps it would be well to observe, that, the existing revenues being equal to the ordinary exigencies of the nation, it will not be necessary to increase them for any other purpose than that of reducing the public debt. This idea, I think, should be constantly held up.

If there should this year be a surplus of revenue, the whole or part of which could be spared from domestic objects, might it not be best to apply it towards discharging the French debt, and to introduce the recommendation by some observations like these; namely, that the friendly disposition and aids of the King and people of France had been highly conducive to the establishment of our liberty and independence, and therefore that they might with great propriety expect from the United States every mark of attention, which *their* and *our* circumstances might render eligible; that the cause of *liberty* and good *government* was the cause of all mankind, and that the exertions of the citizens of France to introduce and establish those blessings, not only merited general approbation, but were particularly entitled to our best wishes for their success; that the United States could not better evince this friendly disposition than by applying part of their revenues towards paying the debt due to France, at a season when, from the derangements incident to revolutions, it could not fail of being both acceptable and useful.

Indian affairs afford another topic; but on this subject my information is too limited to enable me to see things as they probably are. But, be they as they may, it might answer a good purpose occasionally to hint at the justice and policy of treating those nations with benevolence and with constant regard to good faith.

If circumstances of importance should make it proper to say any thing of the territories under the immediate government of the United States, it would afford an opportunity of recommending the encouragement of schools, and the policy of assisting the

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settlers in making such highways, as might open and facilitate communications with the adjacent States.

As to foreign affairs, I am inclined to think, that at present little if any thing should be said about them; unless some matters very interesting to the United States should have occurred. It is said that a minister from England may soon be expected. He may, or he may not come. The disposition of that court towards us cannot yet, I believe, be unequivocally ascertained. To be silent, and thereby to avoid either courting or irritating them, appears to me advisable in the present moment.

The judicial system undoubtedly calls for revision; but I rather think it will be better to include it generally among those other subjects heretofore recommended, which it may be necessary again to mention, than to make any pointed remarks respecting it.

To convey necessary *information*, and to suggest useful *hints*, on the one hand, and, on the other, *so* to do both as to cause as few questions or divisions as possible in framing the addresses in answer, seems to be all that can be requisite.

All things have their order. All that ought to be done, cannot be done at once. Those, therefore, of the greatest present importance should take the lead, and the rest be reserved for future sessions.

As to public and private communications, it strikes me that the former should contain only important and public information, and in generals; and that details, as well as intelligence of a more secret nature, or of lesser importance, should be conveyed by message.

The census is a subject about which much might, but little need be said, the observations pertinent to it being obvious. I think that something should be said, generally and cautiously, by way of information, of the proceedings in the business of the Federal District; and if necessary, the details may be communicated by message. Of the Bank, I doubt the expediency of saying any thing; especially as its affairs are under the management of its directors.

Thus, my dear Sir, I have committed to paper what passed in my mind relative to these subjects, with that freedom which your friendship invites, and without that caution and reserve which a sense of your judgment, experience, and discretion tends naturally to create.

I regret the circumstance which called you to Mount Vernon, and hope the recovery of your nephew has relieved you from all

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anxieties on that account. I can perceive no reasons, which ought to restrain you from frequent visits to it during the recess of Congress. It would conduce to your health, and so far to the public good. Besides, the distance is not so great, but that in the ordinary course of things your presence at Philadelphia might at convenient intervals be spared; for, should any thing extraordinary occur, you might very soon be advised of it, and, if necessary, return. Be pleased to present my respectful compliments to your lady; and believe me to be, with perfect respect, esteem, and attachment, dear Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

No. XI. p. 235.

LETTER FROM LAFAYETTE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON RESPECTING THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN FRANCE.*

Paris, 15 March, 1792.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have been called from the army to this capital for a conference between the two other generals, the ministers, and myself, and am about returning to my military post. The coalition between the continental powers respecting our affairs is certain, and will not be broken by the Emperor's death. But, although warlike preparations are going on, it is very doubtful whether our neighbours will attempt to stifle so very catching a thing as liberty.

The danger for us lies in our state of anarchy, owing to the ignorance of the people, the number of non-proprietors, the jealousy of every governing measure, all which inconveniences are worked up by designing men, or aristocrats in disguise, but both extremely tend to defeat our ideas of public order. Do not believe, however, the exaggerated accounts you may receive, particularly from England. That liberty and equality will be preserved in France, there is no doubt; in case there were, you well know that I would not, if they fall, survive them. But you may be assured, that we shall emerge from this unpleasant situation, either by an honorable

* This was the last letter written to Washington by Lafayette before his captivity He returned to the army, and was taken and imprisoned in August.

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defence, or by internal improvements. How far this constitution of ours insures a good government has not been as yet fairly experienced. This only we know, that it has restored to the people their rights, destroyed almost every abuse, and turned French vassalage and slavery into national dignity, and the enjoyment of those faculties, which nature has given and society ought to insure.

Give me leave to you alone to offer an observation respecting the late choice of the American ambassador. You know I am personally a friend to Gouverneur Morris, and ever as a private man have been satisfied with him. But the aristocratic, and indeed counter-revolutionary principles he has professed, unfitted him to be the representative of the only nation, whose politics have a likeness to ours, since they are founded on the plan of a representative democracy. This I may add, that, surrounded with enemies as France is, it looks as if America was preparing for a change in this government; not only that kind of alteration, which the democrats may wish for and bring about, but the wild attempts of aristocracy, such as the restoration of a *noblesse*, a House of Lords, and such other political blemishes, which, while we live, cannot be reëstablished in France. I wish we had an elective Senate, a more independent set of judges, and a more energetic administration; but the people must be taught the advantages of a firm government before they reconcile it to their ideas of freedom, and can distinguish it from the arbitrary systems, which they have just got over. You see, my dear General, I am not an enthusiast for every part of our constitution, although I love its principles, which are the same as those of the United States, except the hereditary character of the president of the executive, which I think suitable to our circumstances. But I hate every thing like despotism and aristocracy, and I cannot help wishing the American and French principles were in the heart and on the lips of the American ambassador in France. This I mention *to you alone.*

There have been changes in the ministry. The King has chosen his council from the most violent popular party in the Jacobin club, a Jesuitic institution, more fit to make deserters from our cause than converts to it. The new ministers, however, being unsuspected, have a chance to restore public order, and say they will improve it. The Assembly are wild, uninformed, and too fond of popular applause; the King, slow and rather backward in his daily conduct, although now and then he acts full

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well; but upon the whole it will do, and the success of our revolution cannot be questioned.

My command extends on the frontiers from Givet to Bitche. I have sixty thousand men, a number that is increasing now, as young men pour in from every part of the empire to fill up the regiments. This voluntary recruiting shows a most patriotic spirit. I am going to encamp thirty thousand men, with a detached corps, in an intrenched camp. The remainder will occupy the fortified places. The armies of Maréchals Luckner and Rochambeau are inferior to mine, because we have sent many regiments to the southward; but, in case we have a war to undertake, we may gather respectable forces.

Our *emigrants* are beginning to come in. Their situation abroad is miserable, and, in case even we quarrel with our neighbours, they will be out of the question. Our paper money has been of late rising very fast. Manufactures of every kind are much employed. The farmér finds his cares alleviated, and will feel the more happy under our constitution, as the Assembly are going to give up their patronage of one set of priests. You see, that, although we have many causes to be as yet unsatisfied, we may hope every thing will by and by come right. Licentiousness, under the mask of patriotism, is our greatest evil, as it threatens property, tranquillity, and liberty itself. Adieu, my dear General. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me most affectionately to our friends, and think sometimes of your respectful, loving, and filial friend,

LAFAYETTE.

No. XII. pp. 254, 258, 286.

LETTERS FROM JEFFERSON, HAMILTON, AND RANDOLPH, URGING PRESIDENT WASHINGTON TO CONSENT TO BE A CANDIDATE FOR A SECOND ELECTION.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 23 May, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I have determined to make the subject of a letter, what for some time past has been a subject of inquietude to my mind, without

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having found a good occasion of disburthening itself to you in conversation, during the busy scenes which occupied you here. Perhaps, too, you may be able in your present situation, or on the road, to give it more time and reflection than you could do here at any moment.

When you first mentioned to me your purpose of retiring from the government, though I felt all the magnitude of the event, I was in a considerable degree silent. I knew that, to such a mind as yours, persuasion was idle and impertinent; that, before forming your decision, you had weighed all the reasons for and against the measure, had made up your mind on full view of them, and that there could be little hope of changing the result. Pursuing my reflections too, I knew we were some day to try to walk alone; and, if the essay should be made while you should be alive and looking on, we should derive confidence from that circumstance, and resource if it failed. The public mind, too, was then calm and confident, and therefore in a favorable state for making the experiment. Had no change of circumstances supervened, I should not, with any hope of success, have now ventured to propose to you a change of purpose. But the public mind is no longer so confident and serene; and that from causes in which you are no ways personally mixed. Though these causes have been hackneyed in the public papers in detail, it may not be amiss, in order to calculate the effect they are capable of producing, to take a view of them in the mass, giving to each the form, real or imaginary, under which they have been presented.

It has been urged, then, that a public debt, greater than we can possibly pay before other causes of adding new debt to it will occur, has been artificially created, by adding together the whole amount of the debtor and creditor sides of accounts, instead of taking only their balances, which could have been paid off in a short time; that this accumulation of debt has taken for ever out of our power those easy sources of revenue, which, applied to the ordinary necessities and exigencies of government, would have answered them habitually, and covered us from habitual murmurings against taxes and tax-gatherers, reserving extraordinary calls for those extraordinary occasions, which would animate the people to meet them; that though the calls for money have been no greater than we must generally expect for the same or equivalent exigencies, yet we are already obliged to strain the *impost* till it produces clamor, and will produce evasion, and war on our own citizens to collect it, and even to resort to an *excise* law, of odious

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character with the people, partial in its operation, unproductive unless enforced by arbitrary and vexatious means, and committing the authority of the government in parts, where resistance is most probable and coercion least practicable.

They cite propositions in Congress, and suspect other projects on foot, still to increase the mass of debt. They say, that by borrowing two thirds of the interest, we might have paid off the principal in two thirds of the time; but that from this we are precluded by its being made irredeemable but in small portions and long terms; that this irredeemable quality was given it for the avowed purpose of inviting its transfer to foreign countries. They predict that this transfer of the principal, when completed, will occasion an exportation of three millions of dollars annually for the interest, a drain of coin, of which as there has been no example, no calculation can be made of its consequences; that the banishment of our coin will be completed by the creation of ten millions of paper money in the form of bank bills, now issuing into circulation.

They think the ten or twelve per cent annual profit paid to the lenders of this paper medium are taken out of the pockets of the people, who would have had without interest the coin it is banishing; that all the capital employed in paper speculation is barren and useless, producing, like that on a gaming-table, no accession to itself, and is withdrawn from commerce and agriculture, where it would have produced addition to the common mass; that it nourishes in our citizens habits of vice and idleness instead of industry and morality; that it has furnished effectual means of corrupting such a portion of the legislature, as turns the balance between the honest voters whichever way it is directed; that this corrupt squadron, deciding the voice of the legislature, have manifested their dispositions to get rid of the limitations imposed by the constitution on the general legislature, limitations, on the faith of which the States acceded to that instrument; that the ultimate object of all this is to prepare the way for a change from the present republican form of government to that of a monarchy, of which the English constitution is to be the model. That this was contemplated in the convention is no secret, because its partisans have made none of it. To effect it then was impracticable; but they are still eager after their object, and are predisposing every thing for its ultimate attainment. So many of them have got into the legislature, that, aided by the corrupt squadron of paper-dealers, who are at their devotion, they make a majority

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in both Houses. The republican party, who wish to preserve the government in its present form, are fewer in number. They are fewer even when joined by the two, three, or half-dozen anti-federalists, who, though they dare not avow it, are still opposed to any general government; but, being less so to a republican than a monarchical one, they naturally join those whom they think pursuing the lesser evil.

Of all the mischiefs objected to the system of measures before mentioned, none is so afflicting, and fatal to every honest hope, as the corruption of the legislature. As it was the earliest of these measures, it became the instrument for producing the rest, and will be the instrument for producing in future a king, lords, and commons, or whatever else those who direct it may choose. Withdrawn such a distance from the eye of their constituents, and these so dispersed as to be inaccessible to public information, and particularly to that of the conduct of their own representatives, they will form the most corrupt government on earth, if the means of their corruption be not prevented.

The only hope of safety hangs now on the numerous representation which is to come forward the ensuing year. Some of the new members will probably be either in principle or interest with the present majority. But it is expected that the great mass will form an accession to the republican party. They will not be able to undo all which the two preceding legislatures, and especially the first, have done. Public faith and right will oppose this. But some parts of the system may be rightfully reformed; a liberation from the rest unremittingly pursued as fast as right will permit; and the door shut in future against similar commitments of the nation. Should the next legislature take this course, it will draw upon them the whole monarchical and paper interest. But the latter I think will not go all lengths with the former, because creditors will never, of their own accord, fly off entirely from their debtors. Therefore this is the alternative least likely to produce convulsion. But, should the majority of the new members be still in the same principles with the present, and show that we have nothing to expect but a continuance of the same practices, it is not easy to conjecture what would be the result, nor what means would be resorted to for correction of the evil. True wisdom would direct that they should be temperate and peaceable. But the division of sentiment and interest happens unfortunately to be so geographical, that no mortal can say, that what is most wise and temperate would prevail against what is more easy and obvious.

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I can scarcely contemplate a more incalculable evil, than the breaking of the Union into two or more parts. Yet, when we review the mass, which opposed the original coalescence; when we consider, that it lay chiefly in the southern quarter, that the legislature have availed themselves of no occasion of allaying it, but on the contrary whenever northern and southern prejudices have come into conflict, the latter have been sacrificed, and the former soothed, that the owers of the debt are in the southern, and the holders of it in the northern division; that the antifederal champions are now strengthened in argument by the fulfilment of their predictions; that this has been brought about by the monarchical federalists themselves, who, having been for the new government merely as a stepping-stone to monarchy, have themselves adopted the very constructions of the constitution, of which, when advocating its acceptance before the tribunal of the people, they declared it insusceptible; that the republican federalists, who espoused the same government for its intrinsic merits, are disarmed of their weapons, that which they denied as prophecy being now become true history; who can be sure that these things may not proselyte the small number, which was wanting to place the majority on the other side? And this is the event at which I tremble, and to prevent which I consider your continuance at the head of affairs as of the last importance.

The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument, which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and south will hang together, if they have you to hang on; and, if the first corrective of a numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the States.

I am perfectly aware of the oppression under which your present office lays your mind, and of the ardor with which you pant for retirement to domestic life. But there is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims, as to control the predilection of the individual for a particular walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed on you by Providence in forming your character, and fashioning the events on which it was to operate; and it is to motives like these, and not to personal anxieties of mine or others, who have no right to call on you for

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sacrifices, that I appeal from your former determination and urge a revisal of it, on the ground of change in the aspect of things. Should an honest majority result from the new and enlarged representation, should those acquiesce, whose principles or interests they may control, your wishes for retirement would be gratified with less danger, as soon as that shall be manifest, without awaiting the completion of the second period of four years. One or two sessions will determine the crisis; and I cannot but hope, that you can resolve to add one or two more to the many years you have already sacrificed to the good of mankind.

The fear of suspicion, that any selfish motive of continuance in office may enter into this solicitation on my part obliges me to declare, that no such motive exists. It is a thing of mere indifference to the public, whether I retain or relinquish my purpose of closing my tour with the first periodical renovation of the government. I know my own measure too well to suppose, that my services contribute any thing to the public confidence or the public utility. Multitudes can fill the office, in which you have been pleased to place me, as much to their advantage and satisfaction. I, therefore, have no motive to consult but my own inclination, which is bent irresistibly on the tranquil enjoyment of my family, my farm, and my books. I should repose among them, it is true, in far greater security, if I were to know that you remained at the watch, and I hope it will be so. To the inducements urged from a view of our domestic affairs, I will add a bare mention of what indeed need only be mentioned, that weighty motives for your continuance are to be found in our foreign affairs. I think it probable that both the Spanish and English negotiations, if not completed before your purpose is known, will be suspended from the moment it is known, and that the latter nation will then use double diligence in fomenting the Indian war.

With my wishes for the future, I shall at the same time express my gratitude for the past, at least my portion in it; and beg permission to follow you, whether in public or private life, with those sentiments of sincere attachment and respect with which I am unalterably, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.*

* The parts of this letter relating to the administration were answered by Mr. Hamilton, in a reply to the President's letter in the text; but the answer is not found among Washington's papers.

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 30 July, 1792.

SIR,

I received the most sincere pleasure at finding in our last conversation, that there was some relaxation in the disposition you had before discovered to decline a reëlection. Since your departure, I have lost no opportunity of sounding the opinions of persons, whose opinions were worth knowing, on these two points; first, the effect of your declining upon the public affairs, and upon your own reputation; secondly, the effect of your continuing, in reference to the declarations you have made of your disinclination to public life. And I can truly say, that I have not found the least difference of sentiment on either point. The impression is uniform, that your declining would be to be deplored as the greatest evil that could befall the country at the present juncture, and as critically hazardous to your own reputation; that your continuance will be justified in the mind of every friend to his country by the evident necessity for it.

It is clear, says every one with whom I have conversed, that the affairs of the national government are not yet firmly established; that its enemies, generally speaking, are as inveterate as ever; that their enmity has been sharpened by its success, and by all the resentments, which flow from disappointed predictions and mortified vanity; that a general and strenuous effort is making in every State to place the administration of it in the hands of its enemies, as if they were its safest guardians; that the period of the next House of Representatives is likely to prove the crisis of its permanent character; that, if you continue in office, nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended; if you quit, much is to be dreaded; that the same motives which induced you to accept originally ought to decide you to continue till matters have assumed a more determinate aspect; that indeed it would have been better, as it regards your own character, that you had never consented to come forward, than now to leave the business unfinished and in danger of being undone; that, in the event of storms arising, there would be an imputation either of want of foresight or want of firmness; and in fine, that on public and personal accounts, on patriotic and prudential considerations, the clear path to be pursued by you will be again to obey the voice of your country; which it is not doubted will be as earnest and as unanimous as ever.

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On this last point, I have some suspicion, that it will be insinuated to you, and perhaps (God forgive me, if I judge hardly) with design to place before you a motive for declining, that there is danger of a division among the electors, and of less unanimity in their suffrages than heretofore. My view of this matter is as follows.

While your first election was depending, I had no doubt that there would be characters among the electors, who, if they durst follow their inclinations, would have voted against you, but that in all probability they would be restrained by an apprehension of public resentment; that nevertheless it was possible a few straggling votes might be found in opposition from some headstrong and fanatical individuals; that a circumstance of this kind would be in fact, and ought to be estimated by you, as of no importance, since there would be sufficient unanimity to witness the general confidence and attachment towards you.

My view of the future accords exactly with what was my view of the past. I believe the same motives will operate to produce the same result. The dread of public indignation will be likely to restrain the indisposed few. If they can calculate at all, they will naturally reflect that they could not give a severer blow to their cause, than by giving a proof of hostility to you. But, if a solitary vote or two should appear wanting to perfect unanimity, of what moment can it be? Will not the fewness of the exceptions be a confirmation of the devotion of the community to a character, which has so generally united its suffrages? After an administration of four years at the head of a new government, opposed in its first establishment by a large proportion of its citizens, and obliged to run counter to many prejudices in devising the arduous arrangements requisite to public credit and public order, will not those, who may be the authors of any such exceptions, manifest more their own perverseness and malevolence, than any diminution of the affection and confidence of the nation? I am persuaded, that both these questions ought to be answered in the affirmative, and that there is nothing to be looked for, on the score of diversity of sentiment, which ought to weigh for a moment.

I trust, Sir, and I pray God, that you will determine to make a further sacrifice of your tranquillity and happiness to the public good. I trust, that it need not continue above a year or two more. And I think, that it will be more eligible to retire from office before the expiration of the term of election, than to decline a reëlection.

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The sentiments I have delivered upon this occasion, I can truly say, proceed exclusively from an anxious concern for the public welfare and an affectionate personal attachment. These dispositions must continue to govern in every vicissitude one, who has the honor to be very truly and respectfully, Sir, yours, &c.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

EDMUND RANDOLPH TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 5 August, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I have persuaded myself that this letter, though unconnected with any official relation, and upon a subject, to the decision of which you alone are competent, will be received in the spirit with which it is written. The Union, for the sake of which I have encountered various embarrassments, not wholly unknown to you, and sacrificed some opinions, which, but for its jeopardy, I should never have surrendered, seems to me to be now at the eve of a crisis. It is feared by those, who take a serious interest in the affairs of the United States, that you will refuse the chair of government at the approaching election. If such an event must happen, indulge me at least in the liberty of opening to you a course of thought, which a calm attention to the federal government has suggested, and no bias of party has influenced.

It cannot have escaped you, that divisions are formed in our politics as systematic as those, which prevail in Great Britain. Such as opposed the constitution from a hatred to the Union can never be conciliated by any overture or atonement. By others it is meditated to push the construction of federal powers to every tenable extreme. A third class, republican in principle, and thus far, in my judgment, happy in their discernment of our welfare, have notwithstanding mingled with their doctrines a fatal error, that the State Assemblies are to be resorted to, as the engines of correction to the federal administration. The honors belonging to the chief magistracy are objects of no common solicitude to a few, who compose a fourth denomination.

The ferment, which might be naturally expected from these ingredients, does actually exist. The original enemies not only affect to see a completion of their malignant prophecies, but are ready to improve every calumny to the disgrace of the government. To their corps are, or will be, added in a great measure the mistaken friends of republicanism, while the favorers of the high tone are strenuous in the prosecution of their views.

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The real temper, however, of the people is, I believe, strictly right at this moment. Their passions have been tried in every possible shape. After the first tumult, excited by the discussion of the constitution, had abated, several acts of Congress became the theme of abuse. But they have not yet *felt* oppression; and they love order too much to be roused into a deliberate commotion, without the intervention of the most wicked artifices. They will, it is true, be told at the meeting of every State legislature, that Congress have usurped. But this, if unfounded, will be ascribed to the violence of those, who wish to establish a belief, that they alone can save the individual States from the general vortex, by being elected into the federal councils.

It is much to be regretted, that the judiciary, in spite of their apparent firmness in annulling the pension law, are not what some time hence they will be, a resource against the infractions of the constitution on the one hand, and a steady asserter of the federal rights on the other. So crude is our judiciary system, so jealous are State judges of their authority, so ambiguous is the language of the constitution, that the most probable quarter, from which an alarming discontent may proceed, is the rivalship of these two orders of judges. The mere superiority of talents in the federal judges (if indeed it were admitted) cannot be presumed to counterbalance the real talents and full popularity of their competitors. At this instant, too, it is possible that the federal judges may not be so far forgetful of their connexion with the State governments, as to be indifferent about the continuance of their old interest there. This I suspect has on some occasions produced an abandonment of the true authorities of the government; besides, many severe experiments, the result of which upon the public mind cannot be foreseen, await the judiciary. States are brought into court, as defendants to the claims of land companies and of individuals. British debts rankle deeply in the hearts of one part of the United States; and the precedent, fixed by the condemnation of the pension law, if not reduced to its precise principles, may justify every constable in thwarting the laws.

In this threatening posture of our affairs we must gain time, for the purpose of attracting confidence in the government by an experience of its benefits; and that man alone, whose patronage secured the adoption of the constitution, can check the assaults, which it will sustain at the two next sessions of Congress.

The fiscal arrangements will have various degrees and kinds of ill humor to encounter. Objectionable as they were at first to

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myself in many respects, yet am I assured, that they cannot now be changed without a convulsion to public credit. Can any new project be suggested free from blemish? Have not the clamors of the people concerning the assumption subsided? Can any tax be substituted for the excise, without rekindling those very complaints, which the excise has generated, but which have now almost died away? If any thing can prevent machinations like these, it will be a reverence for your official character; if any thing can crush them, it will be your negative.

Another of the efforts, meditated against the public debt, is to destroy its irredeemability. I sincerely wish, that this quality had never been given to it. But how can we tread back the ground, on which the European money-holders have been led into our funds? The injury to the United States can never amount to more than the difference between the interest which we pay, and some lower rate, at which perhaps we might borrow to discharge the debt. Borrow we must for such an object; since the sum, which we are free to wipe off, according to our stipulation, is equal to our own present ability. And is this chance of advantage a sufficient temptation on which to hazard our half-fledged reputation? What would you say, Sir, if for this purpose a land-tax should be laid by Congress, which shall not take effect unless the States should neglect to raise the money by their own laws? I think it would soon be discovered, that such a measure would insensibly restore requisitions. These evils are also within the scope of your control.

It will be a great point gained, that the judiciary topics should be rendered as mild as possible. Such of them as are likely to be most obnoxious will in four years more be finished. The judges will be more cautious with the eye of an independent executive upon them. States and individuals will acquiesce in their judgments with more complacency, when they cordially believe, that the existing executive watches over the public safety with impartiality.

The fuel, which has been already gathered for combustion, wants no addition. But how awfully might it be increased, were the violence, which is now suspended by a universal submission to your pretensions, let loose by your resignation. Those federalists, who can espouse Mr. Clinton against Mr. Adams, as Vice-President, will not hesitate at a more formidable game. Permit me, then, in the fervor of a dutiful and affectionate attachment to you, to beseech you to penetrate the consequences of a dereliction of the

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reins. The constitution would never have been adopted, but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it. It is in a state of probation. The most inauspicious struggles are past, but the public deliberations need stability. You alone can give them stability. You suffered yourself to yield when the voice of your country summoned you to the administration. Should a civil war arise, you cannot stay at home. And how much easier will it be to disperse the factions, which are rushing to this catastrophe, than to subdue them after they shall appear in arms? It is the fixed opinion of the world, that you surrender nothing incomplete.

I am not unapprized of many disagreeable sensations, which have labored in your breast. But, let them spring from any cause whatsoever, of one thing I think I am sure (and I speak this from a satisfactory inquiry lately made), that, if a second opportunity shall be given to the people of showing their gratitude, they will not be less unanimous than before.

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with the most respectful affection, your obliged, obedient servant,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

No. XIII. pp. 281, 285.

ON THE DISSENSIONS IN THE CABINET AND THE PRIVATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 9 September, 1792.

SIR,

I have the pleasure of your private letter of the 26th of August. The feelings and views, which are manifested in that letter, are such as I expected would exist. And I most sincerely regret the causes of the uneasy sensations you experience. It is my most anxious wish, as far as may depend upon me, to smooth the path of your administration, and to render it prosperous and happy. And, if any prospect shall open of healing or terminating the differences which exist, I shall most cheerfully embrace it; though I consider myself as the deeply injured party. The recommendation of such a spirit is worthy of the moderation and wisdom, which

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dictated it. And if your endeavours should prove unsuccessful, I do not hesitate to say, that in my opinion the period is not remote, when the public good will require SUBSTITUTES for the DIFFERING MEMBERS of your administration. The continuance of a division there must destroy the energy of government, which will be little enough with the strictest union. On my part there will be a most cheerful acquiescence in such a result.

I trust, Sir, that the greatest frankness has always marked, and will always mark, every step of my conduct towards you. In this disposition I cannot conceal from you, that I have had some instrumentality of late in the retaliations, which have fallen upon certain public characters, and that I find myself placed in a situation not to be able to recede *for the present.*

I considered myself as compelled to this conduct by reasons public as well as personal, of the most cogent nature. I *know* that I have been an object of uniform opposition from Mr. Jefferson, from the moment of his coming to the city of New York to enter upon his present office. I *know* from the most authentic sources, that I have been the frequent subject of the most unkind whispers and insinuations from the same quarter. I have long seen a formed party in the legislature under his auspices, bent upon my subversion. I cannot doubt from the evidence I possess, that the *National Gazette* was instituted by him for political purposes, and that one leading object of it has been to render me, and all the measures connected with my department, as odious as possible.

Nevertheless I can truly say, that, except explanations to confidential friends, I never directly or indirectly retaliated or countenanced retaliation till very lately. I can even assure you, that I was instrumental in preventing a very severe and systematic attack upon Mr. Jefferson by an association of two or three individuals, in consequence of the persecution which he brought upon the Vice-President, by his indiscreet and light letter to the printer, transmitting *Paine's* pamphlet.

As long as I saw no danger to the government from the machinations which were going on, I resolved to be a silent sufferer of the injuries which were done me. I determined to avoid giving occasion to any thing, which could manifest to the world dissensions among the principal characters of the government; a thing which can never happen without weakening its hands, and in some degree throwing a stigma upon it.

But when I no longer doubted, that there was a formed party

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deliberately bent upon the subversion of measures, which in its consequences would subvert the government; when I saw that the undoing of the funding system in particular (which, whatever may be the original merits of that system, would prostrate the credit and the honor of the nation, and bring the government into contempt with that description of men, who are in every society the only firm supporters of government,) was an avowed object of the party; and that all possible pains were taking to produce that effect by rendering it odious to the body of the people, I considered it as a duty to endeavour to resist the torrent, and, as an effectual means to this end, to draw aside the veil from the principal actors. To this strong impulse, to this decided conviction, I have yielded. And I think events will prove that I have judged rightly.

Nevertheless I pledge my honor to you, Sir, that, if you shall hereafter form a plan to reunite the members of your administration upon some steady principle of coöperation, I will faithfully concur in executing it during my continuance in office. And I will not directly or indirectly say or do a thing, that shall endanger a feud.

I have had it very much at heart to make an excursion to Mount Vernon by way of the Federal City in the course of this month, and have been more than once on the point of asking your permission for it. But I now despair of being able to effect it. I am nevertheless equally obliged by your kind invitation.

The subject mentioned in the postscript of your letter shall with great pleasure be carefully attended to. With the most faithful and affectionate attachment, I have the honor to remain, Sir, yours, &c.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Monticello, 9 September, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I received on the 2d instant the letter of August 23d, which you did me the honor to write me; but the immediate return of our post, contrary to his custom, prevented my answer by that occasion. The proceedings of Spain mentioned in your letter are really of a complexion to excite uneasiness, and a suspicion that their friendly overtures about the Mississippi have been merely to lull us while they should be strengthening their holds on that river. Mr. Carmichael's silence has been long my astonishment; and,

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however it might have justified something very different from a new appointment, yet the public interest certainly called for his junction with Mr. Short, as it is impossible but that his knowledge of the ground of negotiation, of persons and characters, must be useful and even necessary to the success of the mission. That Spain and Great Britain may understand one another on our frontiers is very possible; for however opposite their interests or dispositions may be in the affairs of Europe, yet, while these do not call them into opposite action, they may concur as against us. I consider their keeping an agent in the Indian country as a circumstance, which requires serious interference on our part; and I submit to your decision, whether it does not furnish a proper occasion to us to send an additional instruction to Messrs. Carmichael and Short, to insist on a mutual and formal stipulation to forbear employing agents or pensioning any persons within each other's limits; and, if this be refused, to propose the contrary stipulation, to wit, that each party may freely keep agents within the Indian territories of the other, in which case we might soon sicken them of the license.

I now take the liberty of proceeding to that part of your letter wherein you notice the internal dissensions, which have taken place within our government, and their disagreeable effect on its movements. That such dissensions have taken place is certain, and even among those who are nearest to you in the administration. To no one have they given deeper concern than myself; to no one equal mortification at being myself a part of them. Though I take to myself no more than my share of the general observations of your letter, yet I am so desirous even that you should know the whole truth, and believe no more than the truth, that I am glad to seize every occasion of developing to you whatever I do or think relative to the government, and shall therefore ask permission to be more lengthy now, than the occasion particularly calls for, or would otherwise perhaps justify.

When I embarked in the government, it was with a determination to intermeddle not at all with the legislature, and as little as possible with my co-departments. The first and only instance of variance from the former part of my resolution, I was duped into by the Secretary of the Treasury, and made a tool for forwarding his schemes, not then sufficiently understood by me; and, of all the errors of my political life, this has occasioned me the deepest regret. It has ever been my purpose to explain this to you, when from being actors on the scene we shall have become uninterested

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spectators only. The second part of my resolution has been religiously observed with the war department; and, as to that of the treasury, has never been farther swerved from than by the mere enunciation of my sentiments in conversation, and chiefly among those, who, expressing the same sentiments, drew mine from me.

If it has been supposed, that I have ever intrigued among the members of the legislature to defeat the plans of the Secretary of the Treasury, it is contrary to all truth. As I never had the desire to influence the members, so neither had I any other means than my friendships, which I valued too highly to risk by usurpations on their freedom of judgment and the conscientious pursuit of their own sense of duty. That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury, I acknowledge and avow; and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, and was calculated to undermine and demolish the republic, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the legislature. I saw this influence actually produced, and its first fruits to be the establishment of the great outlines of his project by the votes of the very persons, who, having swallowed his bait, were laying themselves out to profit by his plans; and that, had these persons withdrawn, as those interested in a question ever should, the vote of the disinterested majority was clearly the reverse of what they made it. These were no longer the votes then of the representatives of the people, but of deserters from the rights and interests of the people; and it was impossible to consider their decisions, which had nothing in view but to enrich themselves, as the measures of the fair majority, which ought always to be respected.

If what was actually doing begat uneasiness in those, who wished for virtuous government, what was further proposed was not less threatening to the friends of the constitution. For, in a report on the subject of manufactures (still to be acted on), it was expressly assumed, that the general government has a right to exercise all powers, which may be for the *general welfare*, that is to say, all the legitimate powers of government; since no government has a legitimate right to do what is not for the welfare of the governed. There was indeed a sham limitation of the universality of this power *to cases where money is to be employed.* But about what is it that money cannot be employed? Thus the object of these plans taken together is to draw all the powers of government

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into the hands of the general legislature, to establish means for corrupting a sufficient corps in that legislature to divide the honest votes, and preponderate by their own the scale which suited, and to have that corps under the command of the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of subverting step by step the principles of the constitution, which he has so often declared to be a thing of nothing, which must be changed.

Such views might have justified something more than mere expressions of dissent, beyond which, nevertheless, I never went. Has abstinence from the department committed to me been equally observed by him? To say nothing of other interferences equally known, in the case of the two nations with which we have the most intimate connexions, France and England, my system was to give some satisfactory distinctions to the former, of little cost to us, in return for the solid advantages yielded us by them; and to have met the English with some restrictions, which might induce them to abate their severities against our commerce. I have always supposed this coincided with your sentiments; yet the Secretary of the Treasury, by his cabals with members of the legislature, and by high-toned declamation on other occasions, has forced down his own system, which was exactly the reverse. He undertook, of his own authority, the conferences with the ministers of these two nations, and was, on every consultation, provided with some report of a conversation with the one or the other of them, adapted to his views.

These views thus made to prevail, their execution fell of course to me; and I can safely appeal to you, who have seen all my letters and proceedings, whether I have not carried them into execution as sincerely as if they had been my own, though I ever considered them as inconsistent with the honor and interest of our country. That they have been inconsistent with our interest is but too fatally proved by the stab to our navigation given by the French. So that if the question be, By whose fault is it that Colonel Hamilton and myself have not drawn together? the answer will depend on that to two other questions. Whose principles of administration best justify, by their purity, conscientious adherence? And which of us has, notwithstanding, stepped farthest into the control of the department of the other?

To this justification of opinions, expressed in the way of conversation, against the views of Colonel Hamilton, I beg leave to add some notice of his late charges against me in *Fenno's Gazette*; for neither the style, matter, nor venom of the pieces alluded to

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can leave a doubt of their author. Spelling my name and character at full length to the public, while he conceals his own under the signature of "AN AMERICAN," he charges me, first, with having written letters from Europe to my friends to oppose the present constitution while depending; secondly, with a desire of not paying the public debt; thirdly, with setting up a paper to decry and slander the government.

The first charge is most false. No man in the United States, I suppose, approved of every tittle in the constitution; no one, I believe, approved more of it than I did; and more of it was certainly disapproved by my accuser than by me, and of its parts most vitally republican. Of this the few letters I wrote on the subject (not half a dozen, I believe,) will be a proof; and, for my own satisfaction and justification, I must tax you with the reading of them when I return to where they are. You will there see, that my objection to the constitution was, that it wanted a bill of rights, securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom from standing armies, trial by jury, and a constant *habeas corpus* act. Colonel Hamilton's was, that it wanted a King and House of Lords. The sense of America has approved my objection, and added the bill of rights, not the King and Lords. I also thought a longer term of service, insusceptible of renewal, would have made a President more independent. My country has thought otherwise, and I have acquiesced implicitly. He wished the general government should have power to make laws binding the States in all cases whatsoever. Our country has thought otherwise. Has he acquiesced? Notwithstanding my wish for a bill of rights, my letters strongly urged the adoption of the constitution, by nine States at least, to secure the good it contained. I at first thought, that the best method of securing the bill of rights would be for four States to hold off till such a bill should be agreed to. But the moment I saw Mr. Hancock's proposition to pass the constitution as it stood, and give perpetual instructions to the representatives of every State to insist on a bill of rights, I acknowledged the superiority of his plan, and advocated universal adoption.

The second charge is equally untrue. My whole correspondence while in France, and every word, letter, and act on the subject since my return, prove, that no man is more ardently intent to see the public debt soon and sacredly paid off than I am. This exactly marks the difference between Colonel Hamilton's views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid to-morrow; he wishes it

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never to be paid, but always to be a thing wherewith to corrupt and manage the legislature.

Thirdly, I have never inquired what number of sons, relations, and friends of senators, representatives, printers, or other useful partisans Colonel Hamilton has provided for among the hundred clerks of his department, the thousand excisemen, custom-house officers, loan officers, &c. &c. &c., appointed by him, or at his nod, and spread over the Union; nor could ever have imagined, that the man, who has the shuffling of millions backwards and forwards from paper into money, and money into paper, from Europe to America, and America to Europe, the dealing out of treasury secrets among his friends in what time and measure he pleases, and who never slips an occasion of making friends with his means; that such a one, I say, would have brought forward a charge against me for having appointed the poet Freneau translating clerk to my office with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year.

That fact stands thus. While the government was at New York, I was applied to on behalf of Freneau to know if there was any place within my department to which he could be appointed. I answered, there were but four clerkships, all of which I found full, and continued without any change. When we removed to Philadelphia, Mr. Pintard, the translating clerk did not choose to remove with us. His office then became vacant. I was again applied to there for Freneau, and had no hesitation to promise the clerkship for him. I cannot recollect whether it was at the same time, or afterwards, that I was told he had a thought of setting up a newspaper there; but, whether then or afterwards, I considered it as a circumstance of some value, as it might enable me to do what I had long wished to have done, that is, to have the material parts of the *Leyden Gazette* brought under your eye and that of the public, in order to possess yourself and them of a juster view of the affairs of Europe, than could be obtained from any other public source. This I had ineffectually attempted through the press of Mr. Fenno while in New York, selecting and translating passages myself at first, then having it done by Mr. Pintard the translating clerk. But they found their way too slowly into Mr. Fenno's papers. Mr. Bache essayed it for me in Philadelphia; but his, being a daily paper, did not circulate sufficiently in the other States. He even tried, at my request, the plan of a weekly paper of recapitulation from his daily paper, in hopes that that might go into the other States; but in this too we failed.

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Freneau, as translating clerk and the printer of a periodical paper likely to circulate through the States (uniting in one person the parts of Pintard and Fenno), revived my hopes that the thing could at length be effected. On the establishment of his paper, therefore, I furnished him with the *Leyden Gazettes*, with an expression of my wish that he would always translate and publish the material intelligence they contained; and have continued to furnish them from time to time, as regularly as I received them. But as to any other direction or indication of my wish how his press should be conducted, what sort of intelligence he should give, what essays encourage, I can protest in the presence of Heaven, that I never did, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, say a syllable nor attempt any kind of influence. I can further protest, in the same awful presence, that I never did, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, write, dictate, or procure any one sentence or sentiment to be inserted *in his or any other gazette*, to which my name was not affixed, or that of my office. I surely need not except here a thing so foreign to the present subject, as a little paragraph about our Algerine captives, which I put once into Fenno's paper.

Freneau's proposition to publish a paper having been about the time, that the writings of PUBLICOLA and the DISCOURSES ON DAVILA had a good deal excited the public attention, I took it for granted from Freneau's character, which had been marked as that of a good whig, that he would give free place to pieces written against the aristocratical and monarchical principles these papers had inculcated. This having been in my mind, it is likely enough I may have expressed it in conversation with others; though I do not recollect that I did. To Freneau I think I could not, because I had still seen him but once, and that was at a public table, at breakfast at Mrs. Ellsworth's, as I passed through New York the last year; and I can safely declare, that my expectations looked only to the chastisement of the aristocratical and monarchical writers, and not to any criticisms on the proceedings of the government.

Colonel Hamilton can see no motive for any appointment, but that of making a convenient partisan. But you, Sir, who have received from me recommendations of a Rittenhouse, Barlow, Paine, will believe, that talents and science are sufficient motives with me in appointments to which they are fitted; and that Freneau, as a man of genius, might find a preference in my eye to be a translating clerk, and make good title moreover to the little

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aids I could give him as the editor of a gazette, by procuring subscriptions to his paper as I did, some before it appeared, and as I have with pleasure done for the labors of other men of genius. I hold it to be one of the distinguishing excellences of an elective over hereditary successions, that the talents, which nature has provided in sufficient proportion, should be selected by the society for the government of their affairs, rather than that this should be transmitted through the loins of knaves and fools, passing from the debauchees of the table to those of the bed.

Colonel Hamilton, alias "*Plain Facts*," says, that Freneau's salary began before he resided in Philadelphia. I do not know what quibble he may have in reserve on the word "*residence*." He may mean to include under that idea the removal of his family; for I believe he removed, himself, before his family did, to Philadelphia. But no act of mine gave commencement to his salary before he so far took up his abode in Philadelphia, as to be sufficiently in readiness for the duties of the office. As to the merits or demerits of his paper, they certainly concern me not. He and Fenno are rivals for the public favor; the one courts them by flattery, the other by censure; and I believe it will be admitted that the one has been as servile as the other severe. But is not the dignity and even decency of government committed, when one of its principal ministers enlists himself as an anonymous writer or paragraphist for either the one or the other of them? No government ought to be without censors; and, where the press is free, no one ever will. If virtuous, it need not fear the fair operation of attack and defence. Nature has given to man no other means of sifting out the truth, either in religion, law, or politics. I think it as honorable to the government neither to know nor notice its sycophants or censors, as it would be undignified and criminal to pamper the former and persecute the latter. So much for the past; a word now of the future.

When I came into this office, it was with a resolution to retire from it as soon as I could with decency. It pretty early appeared to me, that the proper moment would be the first of those epochs at which the constitution seems to have contemplated a periodical change or renewal of the public servants. In this I was confirmed by your resolution respecting the same period, from which, however, I am happy in hoping you have departed. I look to that period with the longing of a wave-worn mariner, who has at length the land in view, and shall count the days and hours which still lie between me and it. In the mean while my main object will be

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to wind up the business of my office, avoiding as much as possible all new enterprises. With the affairs of the legislature, as I never did intermeddle, so I certainly shall not now begin. I am more desirous to predispose every thing for the repose, to which I am withdrawing, than expose it to be disturbed by newspaper contests.

If these, however, cannot be avoided altogether, yet a regard for your quiet will be a sufficient motive for deferring it till I become merely a private citizen, when the propriety or impropriety of what I may say or do may fall on myself alone. I may then, too, avoid the charge of misapplying that time, which, now belonging to those who employ me, should be wholly devoted to their service. If my own justification or the interests of the republic shall require it, I reserve to myself the right of then appealing to my country, subscribing my name to whatever I write, and using with freedom and truth the facts and names necessary to place the cause in its just form before that tribunal. To a thorough disregard of the honors and emoluments of office, I join as great a value for the esteem of my countrymen; and conscious of having merited it by an integrity, which cannot be reproached, and by an enthusiastic devotion to their rights and liberty, I will not suffer my retirement to be clouded by the slanders of a man, whose history, from the moment at which history can stoop to notice him, is a tissue of machinations against the liberty of the country, which has not only received and given him bread, but heaped its honors on his head.

Still, however, I repeat the hope, that it will not be necessary to make such an appeal. Though little known to the people of America, I believe, that, as far as I am known, it is not as an enemy to the republic, nor an intriguer against it, nor a waster of its revenue, nor prostitutor of it to the purposes of corruption, as the AMERICAN represents me; and I confide, that yourself are satisfied, that, as to dissensions in the newspapers, not a syllable of them has ever proceeded from me; and that no cabals or intrigues of mine have produced those in the legislature; and I hope I may promise, both to you and myself, that none will receive aliment from me during the short space I have to remain in office, which will find ample employment in closing the present business of the department.

Observing that letters written at Mount Vernon on Monday, and arriving at Richmond on Wednesday, reach me on Saturday, I have now the honor to mention that the 22d instant will

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be the last of our post-days that I shall be here, and consequently that no letter from you after the 17th will find me here. Soon after that I shall have the honor of receiving at Mount Vernon your orders for Philadelphia, and of there also delivering you the little matter, which occurs to me as proper for the opening of Congress, exclusive of what has been recommended in former speeches and not yet acted on. In the mean time, and ever, I am, with great and sincere affection and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

No. XIV. pp. 293, 297.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE VIOLATION OF THE EXCISE LAW.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Treasury Department, 1 September, 1792.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose sundry papers, which have been handed to me by the commissioners of the revenue, respecting the state of the excise law in the western survey of the District of Pennsylvania.

Such persevering and violent opposition to the law gives the business a still more serious aspect than it has hitherto worn, and seems to call for vigorous and decisive measures on the part of the government.

I have directed that the supervisor of the district shall repair forthwith to the survey in question, to ascertain in person the true state of the survey; to collect evidence respecting the violences that have been committed, in order to a prosecution of the offenders; to ascertain particulars as to the meeting, which appears to have been held at Pittsburg; to encourage the perseverance of the officers; giving expectations, as far as it can be done with propriety, of indemnification from the government for any losses which they may sustain in consequence of their offices; to endeavour to prevail upon the inhabitants of the county of Allegany, who appear at present the least refractory, to come into an acquiescence with the law; representing to discreet persons the

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impropriety of government's remaining a passive spectator of the contempt of its laws.

I shall also immediately submit to the attorney-general for his opinion, whether an indictable offence has not been committed by the persons who were assembled at Pittsburg, and of what nature is the paper, which contains their proceedings, with a view, if judged expedient by you, that it may be brought under the notice of the circuit court, which I understand is to be held in October at Yorktown.*

My present clear conviction is, that it is indispensable, if competent evidence can be obtained, to exert the full force of the law against the offenders, with every circumstance that can manifest the determination of the government to enforce its execution; and, if the processes of the courts are resisted, as is rather to be expected, to employ those means, which in the last resort are put in the power of the executive. If this is not done, the spirit of disobedience will naturally extend, and the authority of the government will be prostrated. Moderation enough has been shown. It is time to assume a different tone. The well-disposed part of the community will begin to think the executive wanting in decision and vigor. I submit these impressions to your consideration previous to any step, which will involve the necessity of ulterior proceedings; and shall hope as speedily as possible to receive your instructions.

With the highest respect and the truest attachment, I have the honor to be, &c.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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* A public meeting had been held at Pittsburg, on the 21st of August, at which resolves were passed, disapproving the law by which a duty was imposed on spirituous liquors distilled within the United States, and appointing a committee to draw up a protest to be presented to Congress, and also a committee to correspond with other committees in different parts of the Union on the same subject. The temper, with which the business was conducted, will be understood by the closing resolve, namely;

"That, whereas some men may be found amongst us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of this country, as to accept offices for the collection of the duty, resolved that in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life, which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be, and is hereby, most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them."

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Treasury Department, 9 September, 1792.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing to you by the post of Monday last, and then transmitted sundry papers respecting a meeting at Pittsburg on the 21st of August, and other proceedings of a disorderly nature in opposition to the laws laying a duty on distilled spirits; and I added my opinion, that it was advisable for the government to take measures for suppressing these disorders and enforcing the laws with vigor and decision.

The result of further and mature deliberation is, that it will be expedient for the President to issue a proclamation adverting in general terms to the irregular proceedings, and manifesting an intention to put the laws in force against offenders. The inducements to this measure are;

1. That it is a usual course in like cases, and seems, all circumstances considered, requisite to the justification of the executive department. It is now more than fourteen months since the duty in question began to operate. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, and in a great part of North Carolina, it has never been in any degree submitted to. And the late meeting at Pittsburg is in substance a repetition of what happened last year in the same scene. The disorders in that quarter acquire additional consequence from their being acted in the State, which is the immediate seat of the government. Hence the occasion appears to be sufficiently serious and of sufficient importance to call for such a procedure.

2. As an accommodating and temporizing conduct has been hitherto pursued, a proclamation seems to be the natural prelude to a different course of conduct.

3. There is considerable danger, that, before measures can be matured for making a public impression by the prosecution of offenders, the spirit of opposition may extend and break out in other quarters, and by its extension become much more difficult to be overcome. There is reason to hope, that a proclamation will arrest it, and give time for more effectual measures.

4. It may even prevent the necessity of ulterior coercion. The character of the President will naturally induce a conclusion, that he means to treat the matter seriously. This idea will be impressive on the most refractory, it will restrain the timid and wavering, and it will encourage the well-disposed. The appearance of

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the President in the business will awaken the attention of a great number of persons of the last description to the evil tendency of the conduct reprehended, who have not yet viewed it with due seriousness. And from the coöperation of these circumstances good may reasonably be expected.

In either view, therefore, of the propriety of conduct, or the effects to be hoped for, the measure seems to be an advisable one I beg leave to add, that, in my judgment, it is not only advisable, but necessary.

Besides the state of things in the western part of North Carolina, which is known to you, a letter has just been received from the supervisor of South Carolina, mentioning that a spirit of discontent and opposition had been revived in two of the counties of that State bordering on North Carolina, in which it had been apparently suppressed. This shows the necessity of some immediate step of a general aspect, while things are preparing, if unhappily it should become necessary, to act with decision in the western counties of Pennsylvania, where the government, from several obvious considerations, will be left in condition to do it. Decision successfully exerted in one place will, it is presumed, be efficacious everywhere.

The Secretary of War and the Attorney-General agree with me in opinion on the expediency of a proclamation. The draft of one now submitted has been framed in concert with the latter, except as to one or two particulars, which are noted in the margin of the rough draft in my handwriting, herewith also transmitted. In respect to these, the objections of that gentleman did not appear to me well-founded, and would, I think, unnecessarily diminish the force of the instrument.

With the highest respect and the truest attachment, I have the honor to be, &c.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 11 September, 1792.

SIR,

Herewith is an official letter submitting the draft of a proclamation. I reserve some observations as most proper for a private letter.

In the case of a former proclamation, I observe it was under the seal of the United States, and countersigned by the Secretary of State. If the precedent was now to be formed, I should

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express a doubt whether it was such an instrument as ought to be under the seal of the United States, and I believe usage, as well in this country under the State governments as in Great Britain, would be found against it; but, the practice having been so begun, there are many reasons, which in this instance recommend an adherence to it, and the form of the attestation is adapted to this idea.

But still, if the Secretary of State should be at so great a distance, or if an uncertainty of his being in the way should involve the probability of considerable delay, it will be well to consider if the precedent ought not to be departed from. In this case the attestation would require to be varied, so as to omit from the words "In testimony" to the words "my hand" inclusively; and to substitute the word "given" for "done," and it may be advisable to direct the Attorney-General to countersign it. Every day's delay will render the act less impressive, and defeat a part of its object.

The propriety of issuing the proclamation depends of course upon a resolution to act in conformity to it, and put in force all the *powers* and *means* with which the executive is possessed, as occasion shall require. My own mind is made up fully to this issue, and on this my suggestion of the measure is founded. Your letter by the last post, confirming former intimations, assures me, that you view the matter in the same light.

The words in the proclamation, "dictated by weighty reasons of public exigency and policy," are not essential to the general scope of it. They amount to an *additional commitment* of the President on the question of the merits of the law, and will require to be well considered.

That the proclamation, both as to *manner* and *matter*, will be criticized, cannot be matter of surprise if it should happen, to any one who is aware of the lengths to which a certain party is prepared to go. It ought to be anticipated as probable.

In a step so delicate and so full of responsibility, I thought it my duty to make these observations, though I was sure they would of themselves occur.

It is satisfactory to know, that a jury in Chester county in this State convicted a person, who was guilty of assaulting an officer of inspection. On being interrogated, they answered, that they had found him guilty upon the count in the indictment, which charged him with assaulting the officer in the execution of his duty; that the law was a constitutional act of government, and

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was not to be resisted by violence. I have directed Mr. Coxe to collect and publish the particulars. The symptom is a good one.

With the most faithful and affectionate attachment, I have the honor to remain, Sir, yours, &c.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Monticello, 18 September, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

Your express is this moment arrived with the proclamation on the proceedings against the laws for raising a revenue on distilled spirits, and I return it here enclosed with my signature.

I think, if, instead of the words "to render laws dictated by weighty reasons of public exigency and policy as acceptable as possible," it stood "to render the laws as acceptable as possible," it would be better. I see no other particular expressions, which need alteration. I am sincerely sorry to learn, that such proceedings have taken place, and I hope the proclamation will lead the persons concerned into a regular line of application, which may end either in an amendment of the law if it needs it, or in their conviction that it is right.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Mount Vernon, 21 September, 1792.

SIR,

Under cover of this letter you will receive the proclamation, which is just returned to me with the counter-signature of the Secretary of State. I have erased the words "dictated by weighty reasons of public exigency," and scored others with a pencil, which you are hereby authorized to take out or retain as you may think best.

As the instrument is drawn, I could do no otherwise than fill up one of the blanks with the name of the place at which I *now* am; but, as it is to have a general circulation, you may decide upon the propriety of this, and alter or let it stand according to your judgment. With esteem, I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS certain violent and unwarrantable proceedings have lately taken place, tending to obstruct the operation of the laws of the United States for raising a revenue upon spirits distilled within the same, enacted pursuant to express authority delegated in the constitution of the United States; which proceedings are subversive of good order, contrary to the duty that every citizen owes to his country and to the laws, and of a nature dangerous to the very being of a government;

"And whereas such proceedings are the more unwarrantable, by reason of the moderation, which has been heretofore shown on the part of the government, and of the disposition which has been manifested by the legislature (who alone have authority to suspend the operation of laws) to obviate causes of objection, and to render the laws as acceptable as possible; and whereas it is the particular duty of the executive 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and not only that duty, but the permanent interests and happiness of the people require, that every legal and necessary step should be pursued, as well to prevent such violent and unwarrantable proceedings, as to bring to justice the infractors of the laws and secure obedience thereto.

"Now therefore I, George Washington, President of the United States, do by these presents most earnestly admonish and exhort all persons, whom it may concern, to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object or tending to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid; inasmuch as all lawful ways and means will be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto;

"And I do moreover charge and require all courts, magistrates, and officers whom it may concern, according to the duties of their several offices, to exert the powers in them respectively vested by law for the purposes aforesaid, hereby also enjoining and requiring all persons whomsoever, as they tender the welfare of their country, the just and due authority of government, and the preservation of the public peace, to be aiding and assisting therein according to law.

"In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done this 15th of September, in the year of our Lord 1792, and of the independence of the United States the seventeenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

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CIRCULAR TO THE GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

United States, 29 September, 1792.

SIR,

Enclosed you will find the copy of a proclamation, which I have thought proper to issue, in consequence of certain irregular and refractory proceedings, which have taken place in particular parts of some of the States, contravening the laws therein mentioned.

I feel an entire confidence, that the weight and influence of the executive of will be cheerfully exerted in every proper way to further the objects of this measure, and to promote on every occasion a due obedience to the constitutional laws of the Union. With respect, I am, Sir, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

No. XV. p. 337.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CABINET RESPECTING A PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY AND THE RECEPTION OF A FRENCH MINISTER.

Philadelphia, 18 April, 1793.

I. Shall a proclamation issue for the purpose of preventing interferences of the citizens of the United States in the war between France and Great Britain, &c.? Shall it contain a declaration of neutrality or not? What shall it contain?

II. Shall a minister from the Republic of France be received?

III. If received, shall it be absolutely or with qualifications; and, if with qualifications, of what kind?

IV. Are the United States obliged by good faith to consider the treaties heretofore made with France as applying to the present situation of the parties? May they either renounce them, or hold them suspended till the government of France shall be *established?*

V. If they have the right, is it expedient to do either, and which?

VI. If they have an option, would it be a breach of neutrality to consider the treaties still in operation?

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VII. If the treaties are to be considered as now in operation, is the guarantee in the treaty of alliance applicable to a defensive war only, or to war either offensive or defensive?

VIII. Does the war in which France is engaged appear to be offensive or defensive on her part? Or of a mixed and equivocal character?

IX. If of a mixed and equivocal character, does the guarantee in any event apply to such a war?

X. What is the effect of a guarantee such as that to be found in the treaty of alliance between the United States and France?

XI. Does any article in either of the treaties prevent ships of war, other than privateers, of the powers opposed to France from coming into the ports of the United States to act as convoys to their own merchantmen? Or does it lay any other restraint upon them more than would apply to the ships of war of France?

XII. Should the future regent of France send a minister to the United States, ought he to be received?

XIII. Is it necessary or advisable to call together the two Houses of Congress, with a view to the present posture of European affairs? If it is, what should be the *particular* object of such a call?

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

OPINION OF THE CABINET.

At a meeting of the heads of departments and the attorney-general at the President's, April 19th, 1793, to consider the foregoing questions proposed by the President, it was determined by all, on the first question, that a proclamation shall issue forbidding our citizens to take part in any hostilities on the seas, with or against any of the belligerent powers; and warning them against carrying to any such powers any of those articles deemed contraband, according to the modern usage of nations; and enjoining them from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war.

On the second question, "Shall a minister from the Republic of France be received?" it was unanimously agreed, that he shall be received.

The remaining questions were postponed for further consideration.*

* On the third question, Jefferson and Randolph were of opinion, that the minister should be received absolutely and without qualifications. Hamilton

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PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS it appears, that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, on the one part, and France on the other; and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers;

"I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively, and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

"And I do hereby also make known, that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles, which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture; and further, that I have given instructions to those officers, to whom it belongs, to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons, who shall within the cognizance of the courts of the United States violate the law of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any of them.

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and Knox deemed it "advisable, that the reception of the minister expected from the Republic of France should be qualified substantially to this effect;

"That the government of the United States, uniformly entertaining cordial wishes for the happiness of the French nation, and disposed to maintain with it an amicable communication and intercourse, uninterrupted by political vicissitudes, does not hesitate to receive him in the character, which his credentials import; yet, considering the origin, course, and circumstances of the relations continued between the two countries, and the existing position of the affairs of France, it is deemed advisable and proper on the part of the United States to reserve to future consideration and discussion the question, whether the operation of the treaties, by which those relations were formed, ought not to be deemed temporarily and privisionally suspended; and under this impression it is thought due to a spirit of candid and friendly procedure, to apprize him beforehand of the intention to reserve that question, lest silence on the point should occasion misconstruction."

The other questions were elaborately discussed by each member of the cabinet in writing, and the relations between France and the United States, as then existing, were largely examined.

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"In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 22d day of April, 1793, and of the independence of the United States of America the seventeenth.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

No. XVI. p. 356.

MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE, AND M. GENET.

July 10, 1793.

The Secretary of the Treasury having communicated to General Knox and myself, that he had been informed that the *Little Sarah* had much augmented her arms, and was greatly advanced in her preparations, we concurred in opinion, that the governor [of Pennsylvania] should be desired to have a reëxamination of the fact. It was done, and a report made, that she had entered the port with only four guns, and now had fourteen. The next day, being Sunday the 7th instant, I received a letter from the governor by express, informing me, that he understood she would sail that day. I went instantly to town. He told me he had received the intelligence the night before, and had sent Mr. Dallas at midnight to M. Genet. Mr. Dallas told me, that, on his proposing the subject of detaining the vessel, he flew into a great passion, talked extravagantly, and concluded by refusing to order the vessel to stay.

As the governor had sent for General Knox also, I told him I would in the mean time go to M. Genet, and speak with him on the subject. I went. On his coming into the room I told him I had called on the subject of the *Little Sarah*; that our information was, that she was armed contrary to the decision of the President, which had been communicated to him, and that she would sail that day; and I requested that he would detain her till we could inquire into the fact, and lay it before the President, who would be here on Wednesday.

He took up the subject instantly in a very high tone, and went into an immense field of declamation and complaint. I found it necessary to let him go on, and in fact could do no otherwise;

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for the few efforts, which I made to take some part in the conversation were quite ineffectual. It is impossible for me to state the particulars of what he said. Such of the general topics as I can now recollect were these. He charged us with having violated the treaties between the two nations, and so went into the cases which had before been subjects of discussion; complained that we suffered our flag to be insulted and disregarded by the English; that they stopped all our vessels, and took out of them whatever they suspected to be French property; that they had taken all the provisions he had embarked in American vessels for the colonies; that if we were not able to protect their vessels in our ports, nor their property on the high seas, we ought to permit them to protect it themselves; that they, on the contrary, paid the highest respect to our flag; that, though it was notorious that most of the cargoes sent from America were British property, yet, being in American vessels, or pretended American vessels, they never touched it, and thus had no chance of retaliating on their enemies; that he had been thwarted and opposed in every thing he had had to do with the government; that he found himself in so disagreeable a situation, that he sometimes thought of packing up and going away, as he found he could not be useful to his nation in any thing.

He dwelt on the friendly propositions he brought from his nation, on the instructions and dispositions with which he came to do whatever would gratify us; that to such propositions such a return ought not to have been made by the executive, without consulting Congress; and that, on the return of the President, he would certainly press him to convene Congress. He had by this time got into a more moderate tone, and I stopped him at the subject of calling Congress, explained our constitution to him, as having divided the functions of government among three different authorities, the executive, legislative, and judiciary, each of which were supreme in all questions belonging to their department, and independent of the others; that all the questions, which had arisen between him and us, belonged to the executive department, and, if Congress were sitting, could not be carried to them, nor would they take notice of them.

He asked if they were not the sovereign. I told him no, they were sovereign in making laws only, the executive was sovereign in executing them, and the judiciary in construing them where they related to their department. "But," said he, "at least, Congress are bound to see that the treaties are observed." I told him

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no; there were very few cases indeed arising out of treaties, which they could take notice of; that the President is to see that treaties are observed. "If he decides against the treaty, to whom is a nation to appeal?" I told him the constitution had made the President the last appeal. He made me a bow, and said, that indeed he would not make me his compliments on such a constitution, expressed the utmost astonishment at it, and seemed never before to have had such an idea.

He was now come into perfect good humor and coolness, in which state he may with the greatest freedom be spoken with. I observed to him the impropriety of his conduct in persevering in measures contrary to the will of the government, and that too within its limits, wherein unquestionably they had a right to be obeyed. "But," said he, "I have a right to expound the treaty on our side." "Certainly," said I, "each party has an equal right to expound their treaties. You, as the agent of your nation, have a right to bring forward your exposition, to support it by reasons, to insist on it, to be answered with the reasons for our exposition where it is contrary; but when, after hearing and considering your reasons, the highest authority in the nation has decided, it is your duty to say you think the decision wrong, that you cannot take upon yourself to admit it, and will represent it to your government to do as they think proper; but, in the mean time, you ought to acquiesce in it, and to do nothing within our limits contrary to it."

He was silent as to this, and I thought was sensible it was right. I brought him to the point of the *Little Sarah*, and pressed his detaining of her till the President's return. "Why detain her?" said he. "Because," said I, "she is reported to be armed with guns acquired here." He said the guns were all French property, and surely we did not pretend to control them in the disposal of their own property; that he could name to me the French vessels, from which he had taken every gun. I told him I would be obliged to him for any evidence of that fact, with which he would furnish me, and repeated my request to detain the vessel. He was embarrassed and unwilling. He said he should not be justified in detaining her. I told him it would be considered a very serious offence indeed if she should go away; that the government was determined on that point, and, thinking it right, would go through with it.

After some hesitation he said he could not make any promise, it would be out of his duty, but that he was very happy in being able to inform me, that the vessel was not in readiness, and there-

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fore could not sail that day. I asked him if I might rely, that she would not be ready to sail before the return of the President. He then spoke of her unreadiness indefinitely as to time, said she had many things to do yet, and would not be ready for some time, he did not know when. And whenever I tried to fix it to the President's return, he gave the same answer, that she would not be ready for some time, but with the look and gesture, which showed he meant I should understand she would not be gone before that time. "But," said he, "she is to change her position and fall down the river to-day; but she will not depart yet." "What," said I, "will she fall down to the lower end of the town?" "I do not know exactly where," said he, "but somewhere there for the convenience of getting ready some things; but let me beseech you not to permit any attempt to put men on board of her. She is filled with high-spirited patriots, and they will unquestionably resist; and there is no occasion, for I tell you she will not be ready to depart for some time."

I told him then, I would take it for granted she would not be ready before the President's return, that in the mean time we would have inquiries made into the facts, and would thank him for information on the subject, and that I would take care that the case should be laid before the President the day after his return. He promised to give me a state of facts the next day.

I then returned to the governor, told him what had passed, and that I was satisfied, that, though the vessel was to fall somewhere down the river, she would not sail. He thereupon ordered the militia to be dismissed.

On repeating to him and Mr. Dallas what M. Genet had said, we found it agreed in many particulars with what he had said to Mr. Dallas; but Mr. Dallas mentioned some things which he had not said to me, and particularly his declaration that he would appeal from the President to the people. He did, in some part of his declamation to me, drop the idea of publishing a narrative or statement of transactions; but he did not on that, nor ever did on any other occasion in my presence, use disrespectful expressions of the President. He, from a very early period, showed, that he believed there existed here an English party, and ascribed to their misinformations, industry, and manœuvres some of the decisions of the executive. He is not reserved on this subject. He complains of the partiality of the information of those employed by government, who never let a single movement of a French vessel pass unnoticed, nor ever inform of an English one arming, or not till it is too late to stop her.

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The next day, Monday, I met the secretaries of the treasury and war in the governor's office. They proposed our ordering a battery to be erected on Mud Island immediately, guns to be mounted, to fire at the vessel and even to sink her if she attempted to pass. I refused to concur in the order, for reasons assigned in another paper. The vessel was then at Gloucester Point. Whether any intimation of this proposition got out, I do not know, but she very soon after fell down to Chester. On a suggestion, that there were fifteen or twenty Americans on board, we desired Mr. Rawle to take measures to prosecute them.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

No. XVII. p. 357.

LETTER FROM HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Richmond, 14 June, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

Plain and evident as is the wise policy of neutrality on the part of the United States during the present European war, I find that the papers teem with publications reprobating this system.

If I am to judge of the feelings and disposition of the people of the United States, from what I believe to be the temper of Virginia on this question, I cannot doubt, that nine tenths of America applaud the policy adopted, and feel increased gratitude and love for the man, who has declared the same as the rule of conduct for his fellow-citizens. There are in all societies, at all times, a set of men anxious for change in the political machine, and fond of confusion. This disposition results in part from love of novelty, from ruined private circumstances, and disappointments in political stations. This class of men receive the aid of the wicked and abandoned of every description, and therefore in free countries are considered more numerous than they really are, because they are noisy, clamorous, and impudent.

But when their weight in society is taken, they will be found as light as straw. So it is here at present. If a stranger were asked his opinion of the wishes of the people of this country with respect to war, he would probably declare the same to be universally favorable; for he would gather his information from the

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conversations he had heard at taverns, where this order of men abound, gambling and drinking all night, and all day abusing men and measures however respectable, however proper.

I returned yesterday from a visit to our arsenal at the Point of Fork, and took occasion during my journey to talk freely with the planters respecting your proclamation. I found every person regarding it as highly wise, duly timed, and all expressed a confidence in your adhering invariably to its purport.

To my mind these communications were not unexpected, and yet I profess I derived great satisfaction from them, because, from the clamor issuing out of the towns and promulgated in the papers, I began to fear that the golden prospects of felicity before us would be lost by our country, in spite of the wisdom and firmness of our government; and I have been induced to give to you my observations thereon, as in your situation at this crisis the happiness of the people requires you should be well acquainted with their opinions.

When M. Genet was here, we conversed very freely with respect to the neutrality of the United States. I attempted to convince him, and I thought with some effect, that, from the superiority of the enemy's fleet, it was the only way we could take, which promised to France those provisions which we had, and which she might want; and concluded the argument I held on this subject by asserting, that, had you determined to prefer the interests of France to every other consideration, you could not have acted more effectually than you did, when you issued your proclamation, and that happily on this occasion, while you did the greatest good to the United States, you did all the good possible to their ally; that we had no fleet, no army, no money to authorize us to take a part in the war with effect, and to do it pitifully was to risk our own destruction, without the consolation of affording material aid to our friends.

He seemed to acquiesce in my reasoning, but insinuated, that, in case the royal government was reëstablished in France, the kings of Europe would combine to destroy liberty here, and that our existence as a nation depended on the success of the republican system, and that we might conveniently make important diversions in her favor on our southern and northern neighbours.

To this I opposed our infant situation as a people, our love of peace, the heavy debt which oppresses us in consequence of the last war, the probable futility of such vast enterprises, and the certainty that France would derive more benefit from holding

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within her own bosom all her means of men and money, than she possibly could by such Quixotic adventures. I augured ill of their late efforts against Belgium, (which have turned out since as I presumed,) and contended that the sure way to effect their object was to be content with defending their own country.

The impressions, which he seemed to entertain when we parted, induced me to hope that he would never attempt to disturb the system of neutrality adopted.

But opinions of moderation and wisdom can scarcely be held long by any man in his situation, when our citizens seem to take an active part in commending very opposite conduct. I judge by what I read in the Philadelphia papers, then, that his mind will be soon turned from those proper sentiments, which he possessed when here, and that our only route to national prosperity may experience new obstructions.

But, Sir, let whatever may happen or be effected, in your firmness we all rest thoroughly convinced, that you can never be brought to depart from that line of conduct, which in your judgment best promotes the public good.

With best wishes for your health and happiness, I am ever your most affectionate friend and humble servant.

HENRY LEE.

No. XVIII. p. 360.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

July, 1793.

1. Do the treaties between the United States and France give to France or her citizens a *right*, when at war with a power with whom the United States are at peace, to fit out originally in and from the ports of the United States vessels armed for war, with or without commission?

2. If they give such a *right*, does it extend to all manner of armed vessels, or to particular kinds only? If the latter, to what kinds does it extend?

3. Do they give to France or her citizens, in the case supposed, a right to refit or arm anew vessels, which, before their

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coming within any port of the United States, were armed for war, with or without commission?

4. If they give such a right, does it extend to all manner of armed vessels, or to particular kinds only? If the latter, to what kinds does it extend? Does it include an *augmentation* of force, or does it only extend to replacing the vessel *in statu quo?*

5. Does the 22d article of the treaty of commerce, in the case supposed, extend to vessels armed for war on account of the *government* of a power at war with France, or to merchant armed vessels belonging to the subjects or citizens of that power, namely, of the description of those, which by the English are called letter-of-marque ships, by the French *batiments armés en marchandise et en guerre?*

6. Do the treaties aforesaid prohibit the United States from permitting, in the supposed case, the armed vessels belonging to a power at war with France, or to the citizens or subjects of such power, to come within the ports of the United States, there to remain as long as they may think fit, except in the case of their coming in with prizes made of the subjects or property of France?

7. Do they prohibit the United States from permitting, in the case supposed, vessels armed on account of the government of a power at war with France, or vessels armed for merchandise and war, with or without commission, on account of the subjects or citizens of such power, or any vessels other than those commonly called privateers, to sell freely whatsoever they may bring into the ports of the United States, and freely to purchase in, and carry from, the ports of the United States goods, merchandise, and commodities, except as excepted in the last question?

8. Do they oblige the United States to permit France, in the case supposed, to sell in their ports the prizes, which she or her citizens may have made of any power at war with her, the citizens, or subjects of such power; or exempt from the payment of the usual duties on ship and merchandise the prizes so made, in the case of their being to be sold within the ports of the United States?

9. Do those treaties, particularly the consular convention, authorize France, as of right, to erect courts within the jurisdiction of the United States for the trial and condemnation of prizes made by armed vessels in her service?

10. Do the laws and usages of nations authorize her, as of right, to erect such courts for such purpose?

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11. Do the laws of neutrality, considered relatively to the treaties of the United States with foreign powers, or independently of those treaties, permit the United States, in the case supposed, to allow to France or her citizens the privilege of fitting out *originally* in and from the ports of the United States vessels armed and commissioned for war, either on account of the government, or of private persons, or both?

12. Do those laws permit the United States to extend the like privilege to a power at war with France?

13. Do the laws of neutrality, considered as aforesaid, permit the United States, in the case supposed, to allow to France or her citizens the privilege of refitting or arming anew vessels, which, before their coming within the United States, were armed and commissioned for war? May such privileges include an *augmentation* of the force of such vessels?

14. Do those laws permit the United States to extend the like privilege to a power at war with France?

15. Do those laws, in the case supposed, permit merchant vessels of either of the powers at war to arm in the ports of the United States, without being commissioned? May this privilege be rightfully refused?

16. Does it make any difference in point of principle, whether a vessel be armed for war, or the force of an armed vessel be augmented, in the ports of the United States, with *means* procured in the United States, or with means brought into them by the party, who shall so arm or augment the force of such vessel? If the first be unlawful, is the last lawful?

17. Do the laws of neutrality, considered as aforesaid, authorize the United States to permit France, her subjects, or citizens, the sale within their ports of prizes made of the subjects or property of a power at war with France, before they have been carried into some port of France and there condemned, refusing the like privilege to her enemy?

18. Do those laws authorize the United States to permit to France the erection of courts within their territory and jurisdiction for the trial and condemnation of prizes, refusing that privilege to a power at war with France?

19. If any armed vessel of a foreign power at war with another, with whom the United States are at peace, shall make prize of the subjects or property of its enemy within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, have not the United States a right to cause restitution of such prizes? Are they bound, or

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not, by the principles of neutrality to do so, if such prize shall be within their power?

20. To what distance, by the laws and usages of nations, may the United States exercise the right of prohibiting the hostilities of foreign powers at war with each other within rivers, bays, and arms of the sea, and upon the sea along the coasts of the United States?

21. Have vessels, armed for war under commission from a foreign power, a right, without the consent of the United States, to engage within their jurisdiction seamen or soldiers for the service of such vessels, being citizens of that power, or of another foreign power, or citizens of the United States?

22. What are the articles, by name, to be prohibited to both or either party?

23. To what extent does the *reparation* permitted in the 19th article of the treaty with France go?

24. What may be done as to vessels armed in our ports before the President's proclamation? And what as to the prizes they made *before* and *after*?

25. May we, within our own ports, sell ships to both parties, prepared merely for merchandise? May they be pierced for guns?

26. May we carry either or both kinds to the ports of the belligerent powers for sale?

27. Is the principle, that free bottoms make free goods, and enemy bottoms make enemy goods, to be considered as now an established part of the law of nations?

28. If it is not, are nations with whom we have no treaties, authorized by the law of nations to take out of our vessels enemy passengers, not being soldiers, and their baggage?

29. May an armed vessel belonging to any of the belligerent powers follow *immediately* merchant vessels, enemies, departing from our ports, for the purpose of making prizes of them? If not, how long ought the former to remain, after the latter have sailed? And what shall be considered as the place of departure, from which the time is to be counted? And how are the facts to be ascertained?

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No. XIX. p. 364.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE CABINET AS TO THE EQUIPMENT OF VESSELS IN THE PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES BY BELLIGERENT POWERS, AND PROCEEDINGS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH MINISTER.

August 3d, 1793.

1. The original arming and equipping of vessels in the ports of the United States by any of the belligerent parties for military service offensive or defensive is deemed unlawful.

2. Equipments of merchant vessels by either of the belligerent parties, in the ports of the United States, purely for the accommodation of them as such, is deemed lawful.

3. Equipments, in the ports of the United States, of vessels of war in the immediate service of the government of any of the belligerent parties, which, if done to other vessels, would be of a doubtful nature, as being applicable either to commerce or war, are deemed lawful; except those which shall have made prize of the subjects, people, or property of France, coming with their prizes into the ports of the United States, pursuant to the seventeenth article of our treaty of amity and commerce with France.

4. Equipments in the ports of the United States, by any of the parties at war with France, of vessels fitted for merchandise and war, whether with or without commissions, which are doubtful in their nature, as being applicable either to commerce or war, are deemed lawful, except those which shall be made prize, &c.

5. Equipments of any of the vessels of France in the ports of the United States, which are doubtful in their nature, as being applicable to commerce or war, are deemed lawful.

6. Equipments of every kind, in the ports of the United States, of privateers of the powers at war with France, are deemed lawful.

7. Equipments of vessels in the ports of the United States, which are of a nature solely adapted to war, are deemed unlawful; except those stranded or wrecked, as mentioned in the eighteenth article of our treaty with France, the sixteenth of our treaty with the United Netherlands, the ninth of our treaty with Prussia; and except those mentioned in the nineteenth article of our treaty with France, the seventeenth of our treaty with the United Netherlands, the eighteenth of our treaty with Prussia.

8. Vessels of either of the parties not armed, or armed previous to their coming into the ports of the United States, which

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shall not have infringed any of the foregoing rules, may lawfully engage or enlist their own subjects or citizens, not being inhabitants of the United States; except privateers of the powers at war with France, and except those vessels which shall have made prize, &c.

The foregoing rules having been considered by us at several meetings, and being now unanimously approved, they are submitted to the President of the United States.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.
HENRY KNOX.
EDMUND RANDOLPH.

RESTITUTION OF PRIZES.

August 5th, 1793.

That the minister of the French Republic be informed, that the President considers the United States as bound, pursuant to positive assurances, given in conformity to the laws of neutrality, to effectuate the restoration of, or to make compensation for prizes, which shall have been made of any of the parties at war with France, subsequent to the 5th day of June last by privateers fitted out of their ports.

That it is consequently expected, that he will cause restitution to be made of all prizes taken and brought into our ports subsequent to the abovementioned day by such privateers; in defect of which, the President considers it as incumbent upon the United States to indemnify the owners of those prizes; the indemnification to be reimbursed by the French nation.

That, besides taking efficacious measures to prevent the future fitting out of privateers in the ports of the United States, they will not give asylum therein to any, which shall have been at any time so fitted out, and will cause restitution of all such prizes as shall be hereafter brought within their ports by any of the said privateers.

That instructions be sent to the respective governors in conformity to the above communication.

The foregoing having been duly considered, and, being now unanimously approved, they are submitted to the President of the United States.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.
HENRY KNOX.
EDMUND RANDOLPH.

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CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH MINISTER.

At a meeting of the heads of departments and the attorney-general at the President's, on the 1st and 2d of August, 1793, on a review of the whole of M. Genet's correspondence and conduct, it was unanimously agreed, that a letter should be written to the minister of the United States at Paris, stating the same to him, resuming the points of difference, which had arisen between the government of the United States and M. Genet, assigning the reasons for the opinions of the former, and desiring the recall of the latter; and that this letter, with those which have passed between M. Genet and the Secretary of State, and other necessary documents, shall be laid by Mr. Morris before the executive of the French government.

At a meeting of the same at the President's, August 15th, the rough draft of the said letter, having been prepared by the Secretary of State, was read for consideration; and it was agreed, that the Secretary of the Treasury should take measures for obtaining a vessel, either by hire or purchase, to be sent to France express, with the despatches when ready.

At a meeting of the same at the President's, August 20th, the said letter was read aud corrected by paragraphs, and finally agreed to.

At a meeting of the same at the President's, August 23d, it was agreed, that the preceding letter should bear the date of the last document, which is to accompany it, to wit, August 16th; and the draft of a second letter to our minister at Paris was read, and unanimously approved, and to bear date this day.

Sealed and signed this 23d day of August, 1793.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.
HENRY KNOX.
EDMUND RANDOLPH.

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No. XX. pp. 376, 379, 381.

OPINIONS OF JEFFERSON, HAMILTON, AND MADISON, AS TO THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT TO CONVENE CONGRESS AT ANY OTHER PLACE, THAN THAT TO WHICH THEY HAVE ADJOURNED.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Monticello, 17 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I have carefully considered the question, whether the President may call Congress to any other place than that to which they have adjourned themselves, and think he cannot have such a right, unless it has been given him by the constitution or the laws, and that neither of these has given it. The only circumstance, which he can alter as to their meeting, is that of *time*, by calling them at an *earlier day* than that to which they stand adjourned, but no power to change the place is given. Mr. Madison happened to come here yesterday after the receipt of your letter. I proposed the question to him, and he thinks there was particular caution intended and used in the diction of the constitution, to avoid giving the President any power over the place of meeting, lest he should exercise it with local partialities.

With respect to the executive, the residence law has fixed our offices at Philadelphia till the year 1800, and therefore it seems necessary that we should get as near them as we may with safety. As to the place of meeting for the legislature, were we authorized to decide that question, I should think it right to have it in some place in Pennsylvania, in consideration of the principles of the residence bill, and that we might furnish no pretext to that State to infringe them hereafter. I am quite unacquainted with Reading, and its means of accommodation. Its situation is perhaps as little objectionable as that of Lancaster, and less so than Trenton, or perhaps Wilmington. However, I think we have nothing to do with the question, and that Congress must meet in Philadelphia, even if it be in the open fields, to adjourn themselves to some other place.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Two Miles and a Half from Philadelphia, 24 October, 1793.

SIR,

As to the right of the President to convene Congress out of the ordinary course, I think it stands as follows; 'he may on *extraordinary occasions* convene both Houses of Congress, or either of them.' These are the words of the constitution. Nothing is said as to *time* or *place*, nothing restrictive as to either. I therefore think they both stand on the same footing. The discretion of the President extends to *place* as well as *time*. The reason of the thing, as well as the words of the constitution, would extend it to both. The usual seat of the government may be in possession of an enemy, it may be swallowed up by an earthquake. I know of no law that abridges, in this respect, the discretion of the President, if a law could abridge a constitutional discretion of either branch.

But the doubt with me is, whether the "*extraordinary occasion*" mentioned in the constitution be not some unforeseen occurrence in the public affairs, which renders it advisable *for the public service* to convene Congress at some *time* different from that, which the constitution or some law has established; in other words, to anticipate their ordinary meeting, to have a *special* session for a *special object of public business* out of the preëstablished course. I doubt, therefore, whether the circumstance of a contagious disease existing at the seat of government be a constitutional ground for convening Congress at *another place*, but at the same *time* they had premeditated. And I know that there are respectable opinions against the power of the President to change the place of meeting in such a case; so as I think to render it inexpedient to take the step. But the President may *recommend* a meeting at some other place, as a place of preliminary rendezvous for the members of the two Houses, that they may informally concert what further the exigency may require, and my present opinion inclines in favor of such a measure.

The question then would be, What place is the most eligible? Obvious reasons render it desirable, that it should be as near Philadelphia as may consist with the motive for naming such a place, to wit, the safety of the members. 1. Innovation upon the existing arrangement with regard to the seat of government ought to be avoided as much as possible. 2. Congress may think it necessary for regularity to go within the limits of the city (though

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but for an hour) to give legality by some summary act to another place of meeting, and with this view it will be convenient to meet at no great distance from the city. 3. The place recommended may influence the place of session. The President and heads of departments ought to be near Congress, but they cannot be long remote from their offices; and a removal of the public offices for one session would be in many ways an evil. Lastly, the less the President in such case departs from the preëstablished course, the less room there will be for cavil.

All these reasons would operate in favor of Germantown, if competent only to the momentary accommodation of Congress. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen affirm, that it is. I have myself great doubt on the point, and I have not had time to examine; but I cannot help paying deference to the opinion of those who assert its competency.

There is, however, another consideration not unworthy of attention. Experience seems to decide satisfactorily, that there would be due safety at Germantown, but it is very probable this would not appear to be the case to the members generally. The alarm appears to be greatest in proportion as you go farthest from the seat of the disease. Yet I should hope the President's recommendation, stating the fact as evidenced by experience, would appease the apprehensions of the parties concerned.

If Germantown should not be found adequate, on the score of accommodation, Trenton, Reading, Lancaster, and Wilmington are the places which present themselves to choice as most eligible Nothing more northerly or southerly ought to be thought of. A place in Pennsylvania will best please the Pennsylvanians. They would be very jealous of Trenton, and they would have some, though less, jealousy of Wilmington. Lancaster would afford bet ter accommodation than Reading. Wilmington would, I apprehend, be the most agreeable of these places to Congress. But I am upon the whole of opinion, that it will be best to make Germantown do, if possible. It will be time enough to decide when you arrive, and the interval will be employed to examine the ground.

I have the honor to remain, &c.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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JAMES MADISON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Orange, 24 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 14th instant did not arrive till Sunday night, and, being not then at home, I did not receive it till last night. I now lose not a moment in complying with its request; though I foresee it cannot reach you before you will have left Mount Vernon, and before you will probably have made up a final determination on some, if not on all the questions proposed. These are,

1. Ought the President to summon Congress at a time and place to be named by him?

2. If the President has no power to change the place, ought he to abstain from all interposition whatever? Or,

3. Ought he to notify the obstacle to a meeting at Philadelphia, state the defect of a regular provision for the exigency, and suggest his purpose of repairing to as a place deemed most eligible for a meeting in the first instance?

4. What is the place liable to fewest objections?

From the best investigation I have been able to make in so short a time, the first expedient, though most adequate to the exigency, seems to require an authority that does not exist under the constitution and laws of the United States.

The only passage in the constitution, in which such an authority could be sought, is that which says, "The President may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them" But the obvious import of these terms is satisfied by referring them to the time only, at which the extraordinary meeting is summoned. If indeed they included a discretion as to the place, as well as the time, it would be unnecessary to recur to the expedient of altering the time in order to get at an alteration of the place. The President could as well alter the place without interfering with the time, as alter the time without interfering with the place. Besides, the effect of a change as to place would not be in all respects similar to a change as to time. In the latter case, an extraordinary session, running into the period of an ordinary one, would allow the ordinary one to go on under all the circumstances prescribed by law. In the former case this would not happen. The ordinary part of the session would be held out of the place prescribed for it, unless prevented by a positive act for returning to it.

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The obvious meaning here assigned to the phrase is confirmed by other parts of the constitution. It is well known, that much jealousy has always appeared in every thing connected with the residence of the general government. The solicitude of the constitution to appease this jealousy is particularly marked by the first paragraph of Section 6th, and the third paragraph of Section 7th, of Article I. The light in which these paragraphs must be viewed cannot well be reconciled with a supposition, that it was meant to entrust the executive alone with any power on that subject.

Laying aside the constitution and consulting the law, the expedient seems to be no less inadmissible. The act of July, 1790, "establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the government of the United States," cannot be understood to leave any such power in the President. And as the power, if exercised so as to interfere with the provision relating to the temporary seat, might beget an alarm, lest in the hands of a President unfriendly to the permanent seat, it should be turned, on some pretext or other, against that arrangement, prudential reasons unite with legal ones for avoiding the precedent.

The second mode of treating the difficulty would seem to be best, if the danger at Germantown were out of the way. A voluntary resort to that place might be relied on; and the members of the legislature, finding themselves together and with the President, might legalize the necessary steps; or, if that should be thought wrong, might deliberate and decide for themselves on the emergency. But as the danger might defeat such an expectation, it results, that,

The third expedient is called for by the occasion, and, being sufficient, is all that can be justified by it.

The fourth point to be considered is the delicate one of naming the place. In deciding this point it would seem proper to attend *first* to the risk of the infection. This consideration lies, as you observe, against Trenton and Wilmington. *Secondly*, to northern and southern jealousies. This applies to New York and Annapolis. *Thirdly*, to the disposition of Pennsylvania, which is entitled to some regard, as well by her calamity, as by the circumstance of her being in possession of the government.

In combining these considerations we are led to look for some place within the State of Pennsylvania, not materially different from Philadelphia in relation to north and south. Lancaster and Reading appear to have occurred. With the former I am but

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little acquainted. The latter I never saw. If the object of the executive should be merely to put Congress in the most neutral situation possible for choosing a place for themselves, as would have been the case at Germantown, Reading seems to have the better pretensions. If the object should be to provide a place, at once marking an impartiality in the executive, and capable of retaining Congress during the session, Lancaster seems to claim a preference.

If the measure, which my present view of the subject favors, should be deemed least objectionable, something like the following form might be given to it.

"Whereas, a very dangerous and infectious malady, which continues to rage in the city of Philadelphia, renders it indispensable that the approaching session of Congress should be held, as well as the executive department be for the present administered, at some other place; and whereas no regular provision exists for such an emergency, so that, unless some other place be pointed out, at which the members of Congress may assemble in the first instance, great embarrassments may happen; under these peculiar circumstances, I have thought it incumbent on me to notify the obstacle to a meeting of Congress at the ordinary place of their session, and to recommend that the several members assemble at in the State of at which place I shall be ready to meet them."

With sentiments of the highest respect and attachment, I remain, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant.

JAMES MADISON.

No. XXI. p. 397.

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, April, 1794.

SIR,

I have analyzed the declaration, which you have been pleased to make, upon the copy of the paper of the 1st instant, delivered by me to the committee of inquiry into the state of the treasury department, and find with regret, that the terms used are such as will enable those, who are disposed to construe every thing to my

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disadvantage, to affirm, "that the declaration of the President has entirely waved the main point, and does not even manifest an *opinion*, that the representation of the Secretary of the Treasury is well founded."

To this it would be added, that the reserve of the President is a proof, that he does not think that representation true; else his justice would have led him to rescue the officer concerned, even from suspicion on the point. That this will be the interpretation put upon your declaration, I have no doubt; and, in justice to myself, I cannot forbear to make this impression known to you, and to bring the declaration under your revision.

I am the more certain that this construction will be put upon the fact, from what has heretofore taken place. In the course of the discussion of the last session, an argument of this kind was in private urged against me. "If Mr. Hamilton had really acted by the authority of the President, or in due communication with him, would not the President take same method, either directly to Mr. Madison, or through Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Randolph, to make known to him that this ground of accusation did not exist? His not doing it, which may be inferred from Mr. Madison's urging the point, is a proof that there was no coöperation on his part."

In addition to this, I have learnt from an authentic source, that a particular gentleman, supposed to possess good opportunities of information, has intimated in a manner to induce a belief of its having come from you, that it never was your intention, that any of the loans which were made should have had reference to the act making provision for the reduction of the public debt, and that you never knew any thing of the operation while it was going on.

Under all that has happened, Sir, I cannot help entertaining, and frankly expressing to you, an apprehension, that false and insidious men, whom you may one day understand, taking advantage of the want of recollection, which is natural where the mind is habitually occupied with a variety of important objects, have found means, by artful suggestions, to infuse doubts and distrusts very injurious to me. My consciousness of what has been the real tenor of my conduct, and my conviction of the fairness and rectitude of your mind, compel me to this conclusion.

Upon this, as upon every other occasion, my desire is to encounter directly and without *détour* whatever embarrassment may stand in my way. If, contrary to what I understood from Mr. Lear

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during the discussion of the matter in Congress, and what I inferred from the late conversations with you, the affair does not stand *well* in your mind, I request the opportunity of a full and free conference on the subject, to recapitulate and go over all the circumstances which have occurred, in the hope of recalling to your memory what may have escaped it, and with a wish to abide the result in an explicit form, that is, by a declaration, which shall render the main fact unambiguous, or shall record the doubt.

As on the one hand I expect what is due to the situation, so on the other I seek no palliation of delinquency, no cover for any defect of conduct. The situation is indeed an unpleasant one. Having conducted an important piece of public business in a spirit of confidence, dictated by an unqualified reliance on the one hand upon the rectitude, candor, and delicacy of the person under whom I was acting, on the other by a persuasion, that the experience of years had secured to me a reciprocal sentiment (whatever imperfections it may have otherwise discovered), and by the belief, likewise, that, however particular instances might be forgotten, the general course of proceeding in so important an affair could not but be remembered, I did not look for a difficulty like that which now seems to press me. Knowing, too, that there existed in my written communications with the President (not only those which have been specified, but others,) so many direct and indirect indications of what was truly the course pursued, I still less apprehended a difficulty of that nature, when the occasion for explanation should occur.

Not seeking to escape responsibility for any improper execution of the laws, if any has happened, I did not imagine, that want of immediate authority from the President to do what they would justify, would be suffered to remain (the appeal being made to him) a topic of objection to my conduct.

In the freedom of these remarks, I flatter myself, Sir, that you will perceive nothing but that just sensibility, which a man of honor, who thinks his veracity is exposed to question, ought to feel, and that you will be persuaded I continue yet to retain undiminished all that respect, which a long-established conviction of the existence of an upright and virtuous character ought to inspire.

With this sentiment, I have the honor to remain, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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No. XXII. p. 400.

ON THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE COURT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Several days before the nomination to the Senate of a person to be sent as an envoy extraordinary to England, and before the President's intentions were made known, a rumor had gone abroad that his choice would fall on Mr. Hamilton. This rumor caused a considerable alarm in the party politically hostile to that gentleman, the leaders of which were in fact opposed to the measure itself, deeming it inexpedient to make any such advance to the British government for the purposes of a negotiation. In the warmth of his feelings a member of the House of Representatives wrote a letter on the subject to the President, pressing in very strong and somewhat discourteous language the impropriety of the step, both on public grounds and on account of the risk to which he would thereby expose his own popularity, and urging with all the ardor of party zeal the objections to the Secretary of the Treasury as an envoy, even if it should be determined to prosecute the mission. Mr. Monroe, then a member of the Senate, likewise wrote to the President on the same subject. These letters involved points of delicacy. It was at least questionable how far a member of Congress had a right to interfere in a matter so exclusively belonging to the prerogative of the executive, and especially a senator, who would act on the nomination. In this stage of the business, the President laid both the letters before the Secretary of State for his opinion. Mr. Monroe's letter, and that of the Secretary of State, will add further explanations.

JAMES MONROE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"Philadelphia, 8 April, 1794.

"SIR,

"Having casually heard, that it was requested by many of Colonel Hamilton's political associates, that you would nominate him as envoy to the court of Great Britain, and as I should deem such a measure not only injurious to the public interest, but also especially so to your own, I have taken the liberty to express that sentiment to you; and likewise to observe farther, that, in case it is your wish I should explain to you more at large my

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reasons for this opinion, I will wait on you at any hour you may appoint for that purpose.

"With true respect and esteem, I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"JAMES MONROE."

EDMUND RANDOLPH TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"Philadelphia, 9 April, 1794.

"Sir,

"Among my first reflections upon the two letters, which you did me the honor of showing to me yesterday and the day before, I could not forget that they produced a degree of delicacy to myself. The authors of them are of the number of my friends; and one is closely connected with me by other considerations. However, I did not rest long upon any idea of this kind; being persuaded, that, after my declaration of the most absolute and unequivocal ignorance of what was meditated, and of what was done, you would not for a moment believe, that I had resorted to those expedients for conveying to you sentiments, which I was unwilling to deliver to you in person. This never has been, and never can be a resource of mine; although I have no doubt, that both parties have more or less endeavoured to forward their views, by occasionally, and as it would seem without concert, making communications of the supposed opinion of the public.

"I cannot learn that any body has undertaken to say, that you had determined to nominate any particular gentleman. At any rate, nothing has fallen from me except the conversation, which you permitted me to hold upon the affair; and in which *the individual* was spoken of only as a character which stood forward.

"The first of the two letters appears to be settled; that is, it has been so considered and explained, as to prove that the writer is not (and I affirm it) inferior to any man in the United States in attachment to yourself.

"The letter of the second gentleman creates the difficulty; and these seem to be the leading ideas.

"Is no person to write to the executive upon public subjects, but an acquaintance? The answer will immediately be, that the President will receive information from every quarter.

"Is the President to answer these letters? Undoubtedly not, for reasons too obvious to need an enumeration.

"Is there any line to be drawn between matter proper and improper for such communications? They may speak of facts, or of public opinion; but they ought to be disregarded, if they go beyond these.

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"But what kind of attention is to be paid to these facts, and this public opinion? An inquiry into both.

"Suppose charges are brought against public officers, and the writers offer themselves as witnesses. I presume they will be heard, and called upon to produce proofs, if the character of the informer be not such as to render it disgraceful to listen to him.

"Suppose a particular appointment be apprehended, and a *stranger* shall arraign it, without making charges against the person. The letter ought to be treated with silent contempt, unless an occasion should arise for expressing a particular disapprobation.

"This is a course of thinking for cases in general. But that of a senator has other aspects.

"If I were to examine the question upon abstract principles, I should say, that no senator ought to recommend or oppose a candidate by any representations, except of fact, made beforehand to the President; for he will have his vote upon the nomination; and to recommend is to promise to support, and to oppose is a declaration to thwart the nomination; neither of which is exempt from indecorum.

"The letter of Colonel Monroe does not relate to fact, as far as I can discover from its language. But he shows that he wishes an interview, and an interview for the purpose of communicating facts would, I suppose, be admissible. How is it to be brought about? The mode ought to be well considered. To refuse to receive information would be food for clamor; to admit the offers to give it, without restrictions and in full latitude, hazards the independence of the executive. The following, therefore, is the best style of proceeding which occurs to me.

"'That the Secretary of State inform Colonel Monroe verbally, that his station entitles his communications to attention; that it is presumed, that he has considered and made up his mind as to the kind of interference, which a senator ought to make in a nomination beforehand; that upon this idea the President will be ready to afford an interview at a given time.'

"It may be added in the course of conversation as the opinion of the Secretary, that facts are the principal things to be consulted. Should he place his advances upon the ground of private friendship or regard, then I think that he may be told, that any letter going upon this ground ought to be worded in such a manner, as demonstrably to show that he intended it in that and no other light.

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"I have the honor to be, Sir, with the most respectful and sincere attachment, &c.

"EDMUND RANDOLPH."

The President, it seems, did not accord in opinion with the Secretary of State as to the mode of proceeding. He declined a personal interview, and wrote a letter to Mr. Monroe (which is contained in the text), saying that he was always ready to receive information, and requesting that whatever Mr. Monroe had to communicate might be sent in writing.

No. XXIII. p. 434.

LETTERS FROM HENRY LEE AND PATRICK HENRY.

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Richmond, 17 August, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your late orders for a detachment of militia, and your proclamation, give birth to a variety of sensations and opinions. All good citizens deplore the events, which have produced this conduct on your part, and feel but one determination to maintain inviolate our happy government at the risk of their lives and fortunes. There are some among us, from the influence of party spirit and from their own ambitious views, who rejoice in national adversity, and gladden when they hear of governmental embarrassments. I am gratified in telling you, that the great body of this State will exert themselves in whatever way you may direct, to the utmost of their power; and I am persuaded that you may count with certainty on their zeal and determination. The awful occasion demands united efforts, and I beg leave to offer to you my services in any way or station you may deem them proper.

When I saw you in Philadelphia, I had many conversations with you respecting Mr. Henry, and since my return I have talked very freely and confidentially with that gentleman. I plainly perceive, that he has credited some information, which he has received (from whom I know not), which induces him to believe that you consider him a factious, seditious character, and that you expressed yourself to this effect on your return from South Carolina, in your journey through this State, as well as elsewhere. Assured

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in my own mind, that his opinions are groundless, I have uniformly combated them, and lament that my endeavours have been unavailing. He seems to be deeply and sorely affected. It is very much to be regretted; for he is a man of positive virtue as well as of transcendent talents; and, were it not for his feelings above expressed, I verily believe he would be found among the most active supporters of your administration. Excuse me for mentioning this matter to you. I have long wished to do it, in the hope that it will lead to a refutation of the sentiments entertained by Mr. Henry.

A very respectable gentleman told me the other day, that he was at Mr. Jefferson's, and, among inquiries which he made of that gentleman, he asked, if it were possible that you had attached yourself to Great Britain, and if it could be true that you were governed by British influence, as was reported by many. He was answered in the following words; "That there was no danger of your being biassed by considerations of that sort, so long as you were influenced by the wise advisers, or advice, which you at present had." I requested him to reflect, and reconsider, and to repeat again the answer. He did so, and adhered to every word. Now, as the conversation astonished me, and is inexplicable to my mind, as well as derogatory to your character, I consider it would be unworthy in me to withhold the communication from you. To no other person will it ever be made.

Wishing you every happiness, I am yours, &c.

HENRY LEE.

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

Alexandria, 17 July, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

It was a long time before I had an opportunity of making known to Mr. Henry the purport of that part of your letter to me, which concerns him. But very lately have I received his reply, which I beg leave to enclose for your perusal.

I am very confident that Mr. Henry possesses the highest and truest regard for you, and that he continues friendly to the general government, notwithstanding the unwearied efforts applied for the end of uniting him to the opposition; and I must think he would be an important official acquisition to the government.

I hear you will be at home in the course of next week, and would with great pleasure wait and see you, if I could possibly do so. Before your return I certainly will do myself that honor

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In the mean time I beg your acceptance of my best wishes, and I remain, with unalterable respect and regard, your obedient servant.

HENRY LEE.

PATRICK HENRY TO HENRY LEE.

Red Hill, 27 June, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your very friendly communication of so much of the President's letter, as relates to me, demands my sincere thanks. Retired as I am from the busy world, it is still grateful to me to know, that some portion of regard remains for me amongst my countrymen; especially those of them, whose opinions I most value. But the esteem of that personage, who is contemplated in this correspondence, is highly flattering indeed.

The American revolution was the grand operation, which seemed to be assigned by the Deity to the men of this age in our country, over and above the common duties of life. I ever prized at a high rate the superior privilege of being one in that chosen age, to which Providence entrusted its favorite work. With this impression, it was impossible for me to resist the impulse I felt to contribute my mite towards accomplishing that event, which in future will give a superior aspect to the men of these times. To the man especially, who led our armies, will that aspect belong; and it is not in nature for one with my feelings to revere the revolution, without including him who stood foremost in its establishment.

Every insinuation that taught me to believe I had forfeited the good will of that personage, to whom the world had agreed to ascribe the appellation of *good* and *great*, must needs give me pain; particularly as he had opportunities of knowing my character both in public and in private life. The intimation now given me, that there was no ground to believe I had incurred his censure, gives very great pleasure.

Since the adoption of the present constitution I have generally moved in a narrow circle. But in that I have never omitted to inculcate a strict adherence to the principles of it. And I have the satisfaction to think, that in no part of the Union have the laws been more pointedly obeyed, than in that where I have resided and spent my time. Projects, indeed, of a contrary tendency have been hinted to me; but the treatment of the projectors has been such, as to prevent all intercourse with them for a long time. Although a democrat myself, I like not the late Democratic Societies.

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As little do I like their suppression by law. Silly things may amuse for a while, but in a little time men will perceive their delusions. The way to preserve in men's minds a value for them, is to enact laws against them.

My present views are to spend my days in privacy. If, however, it shall please God, during my life, so to order the course of events as to render my feeble efforts necessary for the safety of the country, in any, even the smallest degree, that little which I can do shall be done. Whenever you may have an opportunity, I shall be much obliged by your presenting my best respects and duty to the President, assuring him of my gratitude for his favorable sentiments towards me.

Be assured, my dear Sir, of the esteem and regard with which I am yours, &c.

PATRICK HENRY.

END OF VOL. X.

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